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Woodside
and the Victorian Family of John King

Murray W. Nicolson

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WOODSIDE AND THE VICTORIAN FAMILY OF JOHN KING

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Introduction

John King, the father of William Lyon Mackenzie King, was born in poverty in Toronto, Ontario, in 1843. Raised by his mother, who was widowed before the birth of her son, and by her brother Dougall McDougall, John King began his education in Toronto. Subsequently, the family moved to various centres in Ontario where McDougall was engaged in the newspaper business, eventually settling, in 1857, in Berlin where John King received his secondary education. John King obtained his B.A. and M.A. from the University of Toronto and went on to article in law. After a varied career which included military service and newspaper work, he returned to Berlin in 1869 and established an adequate law practice. In 1872 he married Isabel Mackenzie and, after living in several residences in Berlin, rented Woodside from the Colquhoun family in 1886.

The Woodside estate included a picturesque, brick mansion, set in a heavily wooded property of 14.75 acres on the edge of Berlin. While at Woodside, John King started his literary career, received a Queen's Council, and began his work with the press association. Woodside was the scene of an ideal Victorian family life for the Kings, one that was romanticized later in memories, particularly in those of the children, Bella, Willie, Jennie and Max.

In 1893 John King moved with his family to Toronto in anticipation of a bright future. What followed were tragic years of failing expectations, economic stress, ill health and death. The happy associations at Woodside, in the Kings' minds, became a bulwark against the ravages of time and the reality of sadness. Although, for them, Woodside retained a dreamlike perfection, the material substance of it decayed to become a derelict property in the eyes of the inhabitants of Kitchener.

The neglected house and property had remained in the hands of the Colquhoun family until 1923 when it was sold. It passed through several owners and was occupied by numerous tenants until it was destined to be torn down and the property subdivided. However, a group of dedicated men recognized what Woodside had meant to Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, whose character had been moulded there by his father. Because of their efforts, the Woodside Trust was formed which allowed for the restoration of the home as it had been in the boyhood days of the prime minister. Subsequently it was bequeathed to the Federal Government and, under Parks Canada, Woodside has begun to live again.

Woodside: The House of Dreams

In the four decades following 1850, Woodside was the local designation for a country estate on the periphery of Berlin, Ontario. It included a magnificent home and outbuildings centred on a well-treed, almost fifteen-acre parcel of land. By 1900, however, the name Woodside had been forgotten in Berlin; and by mid-century the crumbling fabric of the house was to be demolished, the trees were to be cut for lumber and the estate subdivided for residential housing. But there was fire in the ashes and a conjunction of events stirred them sufficiently to allow Woodside, like the phoenix, rebirth from a state of desolation.

Perhaps one of the salient elements that precipitated the transformation of the decaying Woodside was the fact a single family looked upon it as far more than a house and its environs. The family was that of the lawyer, John King, which included among its members a future prime minister of Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie King. As a family of middle-class means, the years at Woodside reflected a time of happy group interaction. Separation from Woodside meant separation from the family. When they moved to Toronto in anticipation of a more successful future and, instead, were faced with disappointments, the memories of Woodside were all the more poignant. The attachment to Woodside was expressed most strongly by Mackenzie King for it was the only family home he really knew and, in retrospect, it became a house of dreams. Woodside was a secret family place returned to mentally at will; and the memory of it was a very real element in the perpetuation of the cohesion of a family often under stress.

One of Mackenzie King's biographers, R. MacGregor Dawson, commented on how John King's children were affected socially because of Woodside's country setting. In his view they, in their younger years, were isolated and, therefore, "forced to draw upon themselves for companionship."[1] Certainly isolation played a part in family cohesion, but it should not be overemphasized for several reasons. Woodside was constantly open to guests and friends, providing the children with a socially active environment. As well, while the King family was in residence there, three of the four King children attended school in Berlin during the week providing them the opportunity of peer group interaction. Perhaps a more pertinent conclusion can be drawn from a paraphrase of Mackenzie King's words in the work of Owen McGillicuddy.

> Growing up together, we were always close to each other, and the affection we had for our parents was the natural return of an affection which had been lavished on us.[2]

The context of this statement seems to imply that it was love, not necessarily isolation, which created a family bond that would outlast the Berlin period. The interaction at Woodside made it a special place within family memory.

In his work, Bruce Hutchison recognized Woodside as the place from which the seminal greatness of Mackenzie King emerged. In Hutchison's evaluation, the result of King's home training influenced him throughout his life. The conservative concepts of a Victorian gentleman, established in King's formative years, conflicted with his radical idealism.[3] Hutchison does not suggest that the prime minister had been moulded in the likeness of his father, a product of his father's mind. But there grew a bond between father and son that remained a constant factor in both men's lives.

The bond between John King and his son, familiarly known as Willie, was not a singular one, for relationships between mother and children, among the siblings or with close relatives and friends were strong. Throughout their adolescent period the children resented separation from one another and from Woodside. When Bella, the eldest daughter, was sent to private school in Toronto, she wrote of her loneliness, wishing she were at Woodside to share in the fun. Nor did Willie like to see his sister away. He expressed a sense of loss when his Aunt Libbie left after a visit, wishing that all those he loved could stay at Woodside.[4]

Bella returned to Woodside and Willie left to attend the University of Toronto. Family

John King family at Woodside, Berlin, Ontario, ca. 1888. (Public Archives Canada, C-7333).

ties were still very strong and letters became the linkage to maintain close interaction. Former juvenile methods of written expression, such as a bill Willie gave his father for chores done at Woodside or the pact of joint partnership co-signed by Willie and his brother,[5] were replaced by a correspondence that showed mature family relationships. Although Willie enjoyed family visits in Toronto, he looked forward to reunions at home. In latter years, he recalled a vision he had as a boy of possessing Woodside as his own. That may have been romanticism on his part, but it is possible he had discussed that vision with Bella. In anticipation of a brief return to Woodside shortly before the Kings moved to Toronto, Bella wrote Willie:

> You will be coming back to the old home again. So all your dreams about the old place will not pass away but may well be realized (I can't get the dream and the rest of it - like you do).[6]

Willie's visits coincided with the seasonal holidays of the school year. When studies for examinations forced him to relinquish the celebration of Thanksgiving at home, Bella expressed the sentiment of the family.

> We would like so much to have seen you but perhaps it was best you did not come home, it will make the coming home at Christmas all the brighter and indeed you do not know how much we look forward to it.[7]

The letters written during this period portrayed recognition of the very fortunate circumstances of the King family at Woodside. One exemplary sentence which summarized these feelings is: "How grateful we all ought to be that we have so much brightness in our lives and all is so happy."[8]

In search of a better financial situation to meet the needs of his maturing family, John King decided to relocate his legal practice in the city of Toronto. Despite the move, contact with Berlin was an important factor in their lives and the death of John King's uncle, Dougall McDougall, in 1894 did not end connection with the town.[9] Friends kept the family informed of local occurrences and these bits of news were forwarded to Willie, by then in university in the United States.[10] Return visits to Berlin were required in association with John King's legal work and members of the family shared these events.[11]

While Willie was in the United States, the correspondence he received from the family in Toronto depicted a homelife similar to that of Woodside, with the members happily gathered together in the front room to read or to write letters.[12] But it was the memory of Woodside that remained constant in his mind, for he talked of calling upon a Professor Norton who had "an old residence like Woodside," and of showing his tutor pictures of Woodside which seemed to give him great pleasure.[13] To him, Woodside appeared as a vision of comfort and security, giving him solace and strength in times of distress. Despondent over a love affair which met with the disapproval of his parents, he, on his return to the United States, wrote the following:

> When we passed thro' Berlin I looked out the window at "Woodside," our old home. It was beautiful in the distance, the trees, the gate, the hills were all the same. I stopped off at the staion and saw the same men still driving horses, and carting trucks, etc., and I could not help saying oh God what things we all are. Met Mary Howie a little girl that went to high school with me, I asked for Mamie Young, one of her friends, and I was told she was married now. I looked long at the old High School. What changes since then.[14]

In a nostalgic way, it seemed Willie attempted to dispel current anguish by dwelling on past happy times. Mentally he tried to fit this girl he loved into the environment he had loved best, recording that

> I had been dreaming peacefully, dreampt I was with the Fennels in Berlin where (A) [his love] was and I tried to see her, could only see her in the presence of others.[15]

Willie adjusted with the progression of time and gradually his correspondence lost its tone of sadness. In a poignant way he referred to his home in Toronto as one of the "Library Houses," for the library had been transferred from Woodside and continued to be a focal point in the household.[16]

The move from Berlin to Toronto had not fulfilled John King's expectations. As the family's economic position became more difficult to maintain, it seemed that all the family members became increasingly nostalgic about Woodside. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Isabel, Mrs. John King, eagerly anticipated the Christmas homecoming of both Willie and Bella. Regretfully she wrote, "How I wish we had the red berries and periwinkle of old Woodside to decorate our table."[17] Christmas at Woodside had been a most joyous occasion as Isabel recalled:

> As another birthday approaches it takes me back in thought to the many bright birthdays and Xmases that were so happily spend in our old home. Do you remember the Christmas at Woodside when you can running breathless and half crying to tell me that you heard Santa Claus and his sleigh coming over the hills and how when the presents were taken off the tree by Santa, as you thought, you bowed, danced or did whatever you were told and marched around the house beating your drum until we were all deafened?[18]

The Kings had shown a generosity, often beyond their means, to make the festivities at Christmas and New Year's at Woodside magical moments to be treasured by their children. As the children achieved adulthood the practice continued and, even though money was a scarce commodity for the senior Kings, financial restraints were not imposed over the holiday period. The family members were informed:

> Father and myself cancel all debts made to us during your Xmas Holiday. We are only too happy to do so when we feel the brightness that comes into our home by our all being together.[19]

The standards set at Woodside could not be put aside though the cost was in excess of what was economically feasible.

Family reunion was a paramount consideration for the Kings, but the focus was Woodside. Willie, eagerly looking forward to a holiday at his parents' home in Toronto, wrote:

> It will be fine if we can be together for a little while. We must arrange for a good summer with lots of reading, walking, talking - the latter we need hardly arrange for - I am counting on many of these things, looking forward to them, in fact I am beginning to feel that I would like to know my grown up sisters and brother, and all the family in fact, for in truth we have been apart for some little while. If we could only rent old 'Woodside' at Berlin for about a month and have all as it was ten years ago, how lovely it would be.[20]

Continued contact with Berlin kept memories of Woodside alive in a real sense, but pleasant sights and scenes recalled it just as vividly as Jennie, the youngest daughter, recounted:

> Mr. McMurrick has just come home from his paddle and brought the most beautiful armful of white water lilies. You know I never see them without the strangest feeling of homesickness coming over me. I am glad we have Woodside to remember as our childhood home.[21]

In 1902, William Lyon Mackenzie King was successful enough to begin the purchase of an estate at Kingsmere, near Ottawa. The property was a sizeable one and eventually contained almost five hundred acres. The joy he derived from this achievement was shared with his parents and siblings who spent happy holidays there.[22] At Kingsmere, Willie could act the farmer, rambling with his herd of sheep and dogs, much as he had done in his boyhood days at Woodside. Because he gained so much satisfaction from these simple activities, he encouraged Jennie's husband, Harry Lay, to enter the greenhouse business in Barrie on his retirement from the bank.[23] As reminders of a pleasurable trip to Great Britain with his father, Mackenzie King scattered his estate with ruins, bits and pieces of stone from Scottish abbeys, English public buildings and Canadian banks. In addition, he arranged for the removal of trees from Woodside to be transplanted on his property in order to maintain some living continuity with the past.[24] In his work on Mackenzie King, Emil Ludwig commented that

> King had brought a material remembrance of his early youth to the country house near Ottawa - Two old-fashioned, green street lamps, as they were still used when he was a boy and when he envied the lamplighter working the streets with his ladder in the evening. A romantic trend to have these two old lamps from his native hamlet brought to the garden he loves.[25]

Bruce Hutchison observed that at Kingsmere, King tried to reproduce the atmosphere of Woodside, so influential in the establishment of his domestic climate. But Hutchison concluded that without the presence of King's mother, or a successor, "the old home could not be revived."[26]

Isabel King contributed to the dream of Woodside but she was not wholly responsible for it. John King was the central figure and the boys emulated him. Even in her older years, Isabel recounted how the boys had copied their father's attempt at playing Santa Claus at Woodside.[27]

The death of Bella, and subsequently of the parents, ended the Toronto home. In response to this personal loss Willie wrote Max to say "my association with home and its traditions ended with Bell and Father and Mother gone."[28] However, the end was only a beginning, for in his loneliness Willie turned again to the Woodside years. Even after the death of Max, King, in 1925 at Kitchener, would recount what Woodside had meant to him and what he had gained there as a child.

> That not a day of my life passes that my heart does not go out in thankfulness to a Providence that has left as the background of my life the trees and the vines of "Woodside," the road in and out of town, the old white horse, and the friendships without distinction of class or creed or race, of men and women, of boys and girls, in every station and walk of life.[29]

Following their parents' death, the distribution of the material effects created conflict and bitterness between Willie and Jennie, for they both cherished each item that was attached to Woodside. Max, close to death himself, was able to bring about a reconciliation between them by emphasizing the joys and closeness of their childhood. Later Jennie wrote to Willie, "St. Andrews is in church what Woodside was in home, and though I try to keep sentiment in check, those two places are 'holy ground'."[30]

As the remaining members of the King family, Willie and Jennie maintained a close relationship. Correspondence between them included portions of King's writings and biographies. When speaking of his work, *The Message of the Carillon*, he directed Jennie to read his speeches as "some of them contain personal touches which will bring to your mind associations of Woodside and Grange Road,"[31] (Grand Road having been the house in Toronto his parents had rented from Goldwin Smith's wife). After reading the Rogers biography in 1935, Jennie expressed a desire to duplicate what her parents had accomplished at Woodside.

> I am glad Woodside is included in the illustrations, for it was a lovely old place, and, I feel, had a great deal to do in giving us our love of beauty. A house such as we had at "Woodside" could scarcely help being an influence for good, and often it is in memory of our house there, that makes me strive to keep this place one the children will remember and appreciate when they have grown up and left it. They have had singularly happy lives here and I hope when their time comes for them to make homes of their own, they will remember Boulderfel as we remember Woodside.[32]

Even though their mental image of Woodside was bright, by 1944 the house was fast falling apart. A group of North Waterloo Liberals were in a quandary, undecided whether to restore the house or tear it down and build a cairn to honour Mackenzie King's long years of public service. When asked about the property, King replied:

> When I visited the old property it almost broke my heart to see it so neglected and in such a state of disrepair....
>
> ....It is perfectly true to say that all of the time of my boyhood, the early years of my life - the years that left the most abiding of all impressions and most in the way of family association were those lived at Woodside.[33]

The event that may have contributed most to the preservation of Woodside, the House of Dreams, occurred in the second week of September, 1947. King had been invited to Kitchener by the North Waterloo Liberal Association whose members planned to form a trust to preserve the Woodside property, in an as yet unascertained way, as a dedication to his many years as prime minister. Of this group, Louis Breithaupt, M.P., and Harold Wagner, the two men most important to the future trust, knew little of Woodside. But before the day was over, they were swept along with King in a return to the past and shared his dream. Most certainly King was unaware of what impact the visit would have upon him, for later H.R. Hardy wrote of King's recollections:

> The more I see of life, (he declared), the more thankful I am that I had a good Sunday school training and a good home upbringing. As I visit 'Woodside' I know that many memories will be revived. I know that I shall experience anew feelings that, more than half a century ago, lay deepest in my nature.[34]

As Mackenzie King, the renowned Canadian, aging and ill, drove up the lane to Woodside, he bade time return and it did. For a day he relived the past and wanted nothing more than to see the property saved as a memorial to his parents. King had been a long time away from Kitchener, for he had lost an election there and his visits, to say the least, were irregular. But nostalgia overwhelmed him and forced him to admit, "I was astonished to find myself feeling much more belonging to Kitchener and Waterloo County than either Ottawa, in which I had lived for the last forty-seven years, or Toronto."[35]

In his diary, King expressed his innermost thoughts about that special day because of "the linking of my early school days with Woodside and Breithaupt's influence in bringing about this visit and also the preservation of Woodside."[36] Wandering about the grounds and through the house, the echoes of youth were stirred.

> I told Louis [Breithaupt] that I recalled vividly and had the thought while lying there under the pine trees in the orchard, wondering if some day I might be able to come back after years of public service and secure as my home the place of my childhood, "Woodside."[37]

Observing the haunts of his childhood, he basked in the love that had existed in his family. Aware that the end of his own life was drawing near, he felt a sense of continuity and contentment in that the realization of a final wish was close at hand.

> There would then come about in God's wonderful and mysterious way the fulfilment of the vision which I had as a child of coming back after years of service and really possessing it as my own, the property which was my father's home in my boyhood days.[38]

Having travelled widely and been acclaimed as a statesman, he attributed his success to the influence of the environment in which he grew up.

> What a fine foundation life in that community with its influences of home, school and church, and simple community life among all classes had meant as a preparation for public life itself.[39]

Although King required nothing more than his own memories to bring his Woodside days into focus, the fact that a little girl was living there on the day of his visit added to the clarity of his reminiscences. Marilyn Kilbesco, the daughter of the tenant, greeted him placed a flower in his buttonhole and took his hand. This simple action filled him with love for the child and served as reminder of his sisters.[40] Later he wrote the following:

> Found it a bit difficult to quiet my thoughts before getting to sleep. I centred them above all else on Woodside and the little child there which helped to bring back the beauty and reality of childhood days.[41]

Shortly after that emotion-packed day, King went on a holiday. For companionship he took with him pictures of himself with the little girl, whom he had considered adopting, and of his two dogs, which reminded him of a well-loved dog buried at Woodside.[42]

King and his sister Jennie contributed to the planning of the reconstruction of Woodside and sent pieces of furniture, china, books and mementos associated with it. King did not live to see the new Woodside, but Jenny did. On her visit to it, in 1952, she was taken back through time to the days of her youth. As she proceeded from room to room, she was overjoyed with the recreation of her childhood home.[43] She had had a family of her own and had striven to make their lives and their home as happy as the one of her youth. But Woodside was "the only home Willie ever knew."[44]

John King, who was responsible for the reality of Woodside, wrote little of it. He, more than any other member of the family, had made it what it was; he, in fact, was Woodside. With the deaths of Willie and Jennie, all living memory of the house passed away. But they had helped to recreate the House of Dreams. Louis Breithaupt and Harold Wagner, two imaginative gentlemen, would ensure that Woodside would live again as it had in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

John King's Berlin

John King's association with Berlin lasted for twenty-six years. During that time he saw it develop from a rural hamlet to a progressive industrial centre. Although on the completion of his studies he had been offered a position in Toronto, he chose to return to Berlin to pursue his legal profession. Berlin, with a promising future, was an ideal setting in which John King could operate for he was able to interact with both the German- and English-speaking elements of its cultural heritage.

No doubt one determining factor in John King's decision to return to Berlin was that his uncle, Dougall McDougall, was a well-respected citizen in the community. McDougall lived in the town with John King's mother and another maiden sister, and over the years had acquired influential friends among the English-speaking population in the area. His associates and friends were well established in legal, journalistic, professional or local governmental occupations and, therefore, capable of directing business to an aspiring young lawyer. To a certain extent, members of this particular group were involved in land speculation, or had close connections with those who were, during the period of the early lucrative land boom in Berlin and its environs. But this group was a minority and its influential position gradually declined as some of the sons of the German-speaking population became better educated and turned from economic to professional pursuits.

John King must have recognized that the majority population, industrious German-speaking immigrants, had begun to rule the area economically. In his youth he had attended school with many of the future leaders of the German-speaking community and in adulthood broadened these relationships further. Therefore, John King was prepared to live and work in two ethnic societies concomitantly. No doubt he believed that in a consciously growing town, with friends in both groups, he would have sufficient opportunity to make a good living in a cultured society and to raise a family in what was considered a friendly, progressive, peaceful community.

The leading English-speaking families who formed an urban cultural elite in Berlin were of English and Scottish descent. Included in the group were the Granges, the Jacksons, the Davidsons, the Jaffrays, the Bowlbys, the Colquhouns and the McDougalls. It was the McDougalls and the Colquhouns who had the most enduring effect upon John King's life in the area.

Among the most prominent men was Sheriff George Grange of Guelph. Although not a resident of Berlin, Grange had intended to make a fortune by purchasing large land holdings within the town proper. He even had these holdings surveyed on his behalf in preparation for a massive sale of lots.[1] The transaction included the procurement of large blocks of land from Abraham C. Weber and Samuel Moxely who had obtained their acreages from the original German Tract; that land, situated along the proposed railway line into Berlin, was to make Grange rich. However, he fell into financial troubles and was forced to sell considerable acreage at a nominal fee. Grange never achieved the financial success of two farmers, Benjamin Eby and Joseph Schneider, who sold their farms in lots, or the children of Frederick Gaukel in the disposition of his town sites and properties. But it was Grange who sold large lots to his friends, W.H. Bowlby, James Colquhoun and Dougall McDougall, all involved in some way with the courthouse in Berlin.[2]

A close friend of Grange's was George Davidson who with his brother William were early residents of Berlin. George Davidson had been postmaster of Berlin and, in 1853, became the sheriff of that community, a position he held until 1881. He held land on the outskirts of Berlin, above that portion of Grange's holdings which would later form the Woodside estate, and in proximity to McDougall's property which was adjacent to Woodside. Through this arrangement, Davidson, Grange, McDougall, Colquhoun and, later, John King all had interests in the same geographic area. In addition, George Davidson owned the California block in Berlin and, by purchasing and selling various properties, became a wealthy man. William Davidson had been a merchant and county clerk before becoming postmaster, a position he assumed when his brother George was made sheriff. Both men, like the McDougall and the John King families, were members of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in which there is a memorial to the Davidson family. With his friends Colquhoun and McDougall, William served on the high school board; and when he gave up his position as postmaster he turned it over to another friend, William Jaffray.[3]

William Jaffray had learned the newspaper business from his father Peter, founder of the *Galt Reporter*. He came to Berlin and with Casper Hett established the *Berlin Chronicle* in 1856. Jaffray had taken over complete management and ran the paper independently until 1860 when he sold it. Two years later Jaffray took over as postmaster from William Davidson and held the position until 1896. Like the Bowlbys and the Colquhouns, Jaffray attended the Anglican Church of St John the Evangelist where he was choirmaster. For several years he was a director of the public library. His cultural interest in music and books was shared with his friends, John and Isabel King, who with him showed keen interest in and support of Das Friedensfest, the German musical festival. Active in municipal politics, serving as councillor and mayor, Jaffray's influence was considerable in Berlin.[4]

One of Jaffray's co-religionists was Henry F.J. Jackson. Jackson had been the contractor for the Grand Trunk Railway during and after the period Sheriff Grange purchased and surveyed his lots along the proposed railway line to Berlin. Having completed his portion of the contract, Jackson retired to Berlin where he engaged in business ventures and became interested in local affairs. He was defeated as a mayoralty candidate but served as superintendent of the school board.[5]

Two well-established gentlemen in Berlin were Dr. D.S. Bowlby and his lawyer brother Ward. Dr. Bowlby, brother-in-law to Henry Jackson, was the physician to the King family, and delivered young Willie into the world. He was keenly interested in politics, served on the high school board and worked diligently for his church. His eldest son, Dr. G.H. Bowlby, served as doctor to St. Jerome's College during the period Willie King taught there. His youngest son, D. Shannon, had been a close friend to Willie King, they having gone to the University of Toronto with young Albert Breithaupt to study law. Shannon returned to Berlin to become county crown attorney, an appointment previously held by his uncle Ward. Ward H. Bowlby, senior partner in a law firm with Frederick Colquhoun and E.P. Clement, was prominent in Berlin for several years. Besides being county crown attorney and clerk of the peace, he had served at various times as town and county councillor and reeve, and as trustee on both the public and high school boards. His wife, the former Lissie Hespeler, was active in hospital work.[6]

The James Colquhoun family, with whom McDougall and John King were closely associated, had moved to Berlin about 1852. Colquhoun was a friend of Allan MacNab of Hamilton, and it seemed that his interest in Berlin began when he was involved with land speculation in Ayr. He purchased land from Sheriff Grange on which he built Woodside. Shortly after settling in Berlin, Colquhoun was appointed clerk of the county court and held the position until his death. In addition he was made deputy clerk of the Crown. Like the other members of the elite faction, he showed a keen interest in education and served at various times as trustee or chairman on both the public and high school boards. John King became a close friend and attended school with both Colquhoun sons, Frederick and Edward. It was from Frederick Colquhoun that Dougall McDougall, and later John King, rented Woodside.[7]

Dougall McDougall, a journalist, arrived in Berlin in the 1850s. Henry Eby had sold the *Deutsches Canadier* to his brother, Peter Eby, who founded the *Berlin Telegraph* in 1853 which he ran in conjunction with the German journal. In 1857, Dougal McDougall purchased both these papers from Eby but dropped the *Deutsches Canadier* when the market became too competitive. In addition to the newspaper business, McDougall served as county registrar from the time of his appointment in 1864 to 1891, and as trustee on the local school boards. Although in 1867 McDougall had purchased from Grange the lots next to his friend Colquhoun's Woodside, he continued to live in Berlin and rented out the property. After Colquhoun's death, McDougall rented Woodside from Frederick Colquhoun for a year before moving into his own home on his adjacent property. John King then took up residence in

Woodside, becoming a neighbour to his uncle Dougall who had raised him.[8]

The tight-knit group of town elite with which John King associated were of a heterogeneous nature: English and Scottish in background, Anglican and Presbyterian in religion, and Tory and Reform in politics. However, in the local sphere, the group acted as a unit. Composed of highly educated men, members of that faction achieved personal gain and prominent positions in the early years of Berlin. Although they were on good terms with the German population and interested in social and educational advancement for the whole population, what divided them from the majority German population was their professional status, superior education and their social class. The German population had advanced economically but it took several decades for them to produce an educated elite which was able to supersede the courthouse clique. Another sharp point of contrast between the English-speaking elite and the German population in the early days of Berlin was their estate-like homes so different in construction from the German ones. These included W.H. Bowlby's "Bowhill," H.F.J. Jackson's "Geneva Lodge," G. Davidson's "Forest Hill," "Woodside" and many more which reflected the wealth of those who lived in them. But the German majority which formed 70 per cent of the population of Berlin did not take long to reach the same standards, for in Sandy Baird's evaluation of the area:

> The Pennsylvania Dutch settled it and German craftsmen made it grow. They shared a simple formula: work hard, work hard, work hard; and they represented an odd mixture of caution and daring. A passion for stability and thrift was balanced by a flair for new business fields and a willingness to hazard their hard-made money on something different.[9]

John King's boyhood friends during his school days in Berlin included the children of the German industrial and entrepreneurial leaders in the town: the Breithaupts, the Staeblers, the Schneiders and the Shoemakers. These early friendships extended with John King's children, particularly Willie who, in the first decade of the twentieth century, could rely on them for political support in elections. Perhaps most salient among these friendships were those with numerous members of the various branches of the Breithaupt family. Henry had interests in the Berlin-Waterloo Railway and the Berlin Gas Works. Albert lived with Willie King and Shannan Bowlby while attending University of Toronto, and later Willie acted as bestman at Albert's wedding. Louis entered politics as an alderman from 1919 to 1922, served as an M.P. while Mackenzie King was prime minister of Canada and in 1952 was appointed lieutenant-governor of Ontario. It was Louis who was instrumental in instituting the restoration of Woodside as it had been in John King's time in Berlin.[10]

German had been a vital language and was taught in the schools in Berlin, but the prominent German families tended to acculturate and to intermarry along specific lines. Among the Kings' friends, the Shoemakers were related to the Ebys and the Shantzs and intimate with the Breithraupts and the Staeblers. Their religious backgrounds were diverse: Methodist, Christian Science, Evangelical Lutheran, Mennonite and Catholic. Exemplary of this acculturative process is what occurred in the Shoemaker family. Originally Mennonite and German-speaking, they moved from Conestoga to Berlin, joined the Methodist Church, became liberal in politics, and ceased to speak German entirely, in the belief that the children would advance by meeting Anglo-Saxon normative standards.[11]

At times there were some hard feelings in the area of local politics over the preferred appointments from among the Anglo-Saxon group to urban governmental positions; but generally the town functioned in a cohesive manner. When President Lincoln of the United States was assassinated, a resolution of sympathy was sent from Berlin to the American Congress, and included among the names of Bowlby, Jaffray, McDougall and Jackson were Schulte, Kaessmann and Huber.[12] The newly rising German elite gained positions in politics and among the professions; and as the town grew members of the old and new elite united to form companies.[13] Once soundly established, members of that German faction emulated the Anglo-Saxon group and built beautiful homes. Among these were Louis Breithaupt's "Waldeck," the Italianate residence of Charles Bohmer, the Georgian residence of Emil Vogelsang and J.M. Staebler's "Bueno Vista."[14]

By 1897 the nine thousand inhabitants of Berlin were able to boast: "It is a Cosmopolitan Town - the thrifty German and the enterprising Anglo-Saxon working together unitedly to advance its best interests."[15] But the developmental process had been difficult. In 1807-8 Pennsylvania German families took up tracts of land in an area called Sandhills, and later Mount Pleasant. These Mennonites, among them the Schneiders, Shantzs, Ebys and Webers, worked arduously to clear the heavily forested area surrounding the swamp which would later become the centre of Berlin. As more German-speakers from the United States and Europe settled the area the hamlet, in 1833, took the name Berlin.[16] Because of the language barrier, these German-speakers depended upon the English-speaking neighbours for guidance in public affairs. Though few voted, those who did supported Reform candidates in opposition to the control of the Family Compact. During the Rebellion of 1837, William Lyon Mackenzie was to feel this support, for according to Allen Huber:

> A large reward was offered for his capture, alive or dead, and Dr. Scott of Berlin and J.U. Tyson of Bridgeport watched to seize Mackenzie. My grandfather, Jacob S. Shoemaker, a miller and Reformer at Bridgeport, sent out scouts to warn Mackenzie. He was taken across the Grand River and guided to the Bush Inn near Doon. From there he reached Buffalo in safety. Jacob Shoemaker often rode over to Buffalo to consult his leader...[17]

In view of this, there is little wonder that John King and his wife Isabel, daughter of William Lyon Mackenzie, felt secure in the German community.

By 1852 Berlin became the county seat and in 1853, with fewer than one thousand inhabitants, was incorporated as a village. It was during that interim period that the municipal positions were taken up and held by the English elite, some of them newcomers to the area. But, by 1870, when Berlin was incorporated as a town, there were sufficient numbers of Germans prepared to take leadership positions to help in the planning for the future growth of the urban centre.[18]

The industrialization of Berlin began as early as 1823 with the manufacturing of furniture. This was followed by the establishment of a leather works, factories that produced gloves, shoes, buttons and shirts, rubber works and meat packers so that Berlin became a highly developed industrial town with banks and insurance companies. It had all the components of a regional metropolis servicing the needs of a richly productive agriculture hinterland.[19]

The erection in Berlin of a registry office in 1854 had signalled the importance of the disposition of land. But the acquisition of a centre for the administration of local affairs was more difficult to attain. The first council of the village met in 1854 in the courthouse and continued to do so for some time. Through stringent methods the council, in 1858, was able to convert the old Free Church for use as the first Stadthalle. The upstairs served as the council chambers and the ground floor as a firehall. Because of the success of the revived practice of a monthly cattle, sheep and butter fair in the 1860s, the council was urged to buy a property to be used as a marketplace and exhibition ground. Although it created some controversy at the time, the outcome was the erection of a large, two-storied market building and town hall, with a deep basement. Built by Jacob Y. Shantz in 1869 and ready for use when the village was incorporated as a town, Berlin had a centre of which it could be proud. It was a hub of activity which drew John King and the other inhabitants of the town to it for numerous reasons.[20] By the turn of the century the primitive administration had been departmentalized and included a board of water commissions, a parks board, a board of health, a library board and a board of trade.[21]

Both an internal and external communication linkage were vital to the development of the industrial centre. In the early days transportation was by foot or by horse. To go about his business, John King maintained a horse with a buckboard and a sleigh. In 1886, however, the progressive citizens of the town gave a charter for the building and operation of a street railway system. The horse-car line which united Berlin to Waterloo and serviced a branch line to the Grand Trunk Railway depot was converted to an electric road in 1896, after the Kings' departure.[22] King, who had an office in Galt as well as Berlin and travelled frequently to Toronto in connection with his law business, utilized the services of the Grand Trunk Railway and the telegraph system. Woodside, outside the town proper, did not have the utility of the telephone system which serviced Berlin, but the King children delighted in using it in their father's office.[23] The town was well linked to its rural hinterland through the extensive kinship patterning of the German residents, and extended further through the farmers' market where, on Saturday mornings, gossip, news, pleasure and business were exchanged.[24]

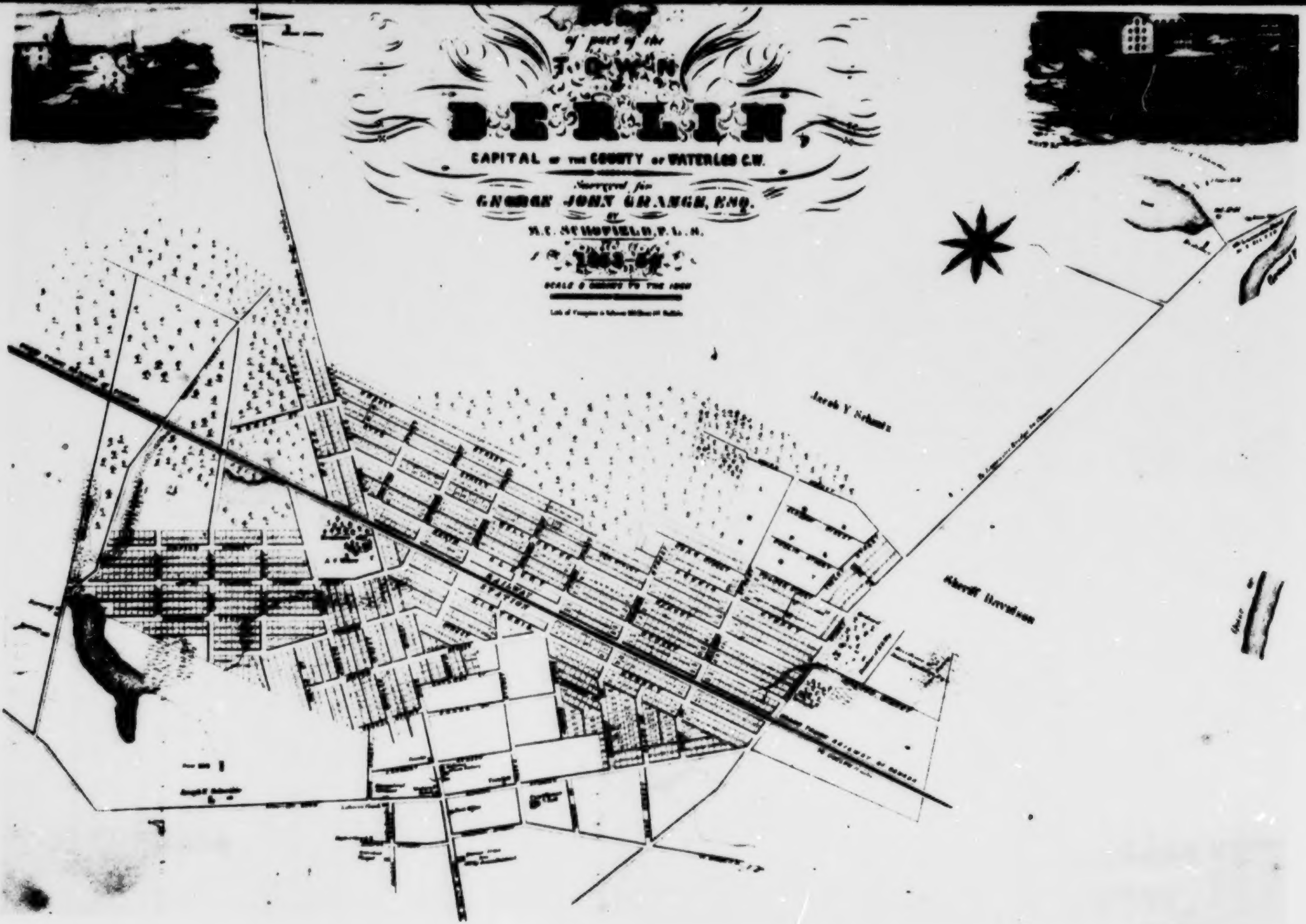
Berlin had always been a scrupulously clean urban centre, probably because of the industrious and orderly nature of the German population. There were always sufficient doctors, dentists and nurses to serve the needs of the community. Although the town had a board of health, there was no hospital constructed until 1893, the year John King left Berlin.[25]

Throughout the period, social life in Berlin centred around its various churches. In many cases religous belief patterns, broken by ethnicity, determined cultural and social activity. Although religious persuasion in no way limited social interaction in the town, it tended through church-oriented functions to occupy much of the spare time of the inhabitants. John King and his family were very involved with their own church, St. Andrew's Presbyterian, but were friendly with those of many denominations and often attended services in the many other Berlin churches.[26]

Education was a priority in the lives of the progressive-minded Berlin citizens and schools were built to accommodate various needs. With Edward and Fred Colquhoun, Aaron Eby, David Shoemaker and the future Dr. Shantz, John King attended the Berlin Grammar School, housed with the Central Elementary School, built in 1856. The Central Elementary School later became known as Suddaby School, in honour of the first principal of Berlin's Model School for teachers-in-training. The grammar school was removed from that building to become the Berlin High School and, much later, the Kitchener-Waterloo Collegiate. The King children attended both these institutions.[27]

The impulse for the improvement of future generations of citizens was seized by the Congregation of the Resurrection in the bid to open an institution for higher education. To help meet the expenses for the building and furnishing of St. Jerome's College which opened in 1866, Father E. Funcken, superior of the order, relied upon the generosity of Berlin's inhabitants. To gain their cooperation, Father Funcken emphasized the positive aspects, beyond the opportunity of higher education, in having such an institution in the town. These included increased population, increased trade, fees to be obtained from boarding students, and assistance to the industrial class by teaching chemistry to the young men of the town.[28] Father Funcken was an acquaintance of John King through a mutual friend, James W. Connor, with whom King had attended the University of Toronto. The King association with St. Jerome's College continued through Willie's friendship with Father T. Spetz. Between 1908 and 1910, while minister of labour and resident in Berlin, Willie taught at St. Jerome's College, lecturing in political economy, and presented a medal to Sylvester McGoey for his oration on "The Future of France."[29]

Berlin was far enough away from the provincial capital of Toronto to allow for the survival of a distinctly German culture. Across the street from John King's office was a hotel with a history that depicted the progression of part of that culture. The site was originally leased from Joseph Schneider by Phineas Varnum in 1820 where Varnum erected a small inn and blacksmith shop. In 1835 the site was purchased by Frederick Gaukel who built a frame hotel which became known as Gaukel's Wirsthaus, and served as the centre of cultural activity in the hamlet. The hotel was purchased by James Potter in 1853 and renamed the Great Western. Subsequently it was operated as the Commercial Hotel under the ownership of John Roat. It was taken over by C.H. Walper in 1886 and, still known as the Commercial Hotel, burned down in 1892. One year later it opened as the Walper House and was purchased by the Zuber family early in the twentieth century. Willie King returned to the Walper House, internationally famous for its German, Swiss and Austrian cuisine, and pointed from its windows to where his father's law offices had been and where he spent much of his time as a young boy.[30]


of part of the
TOWN
BERLIN
CAPITAL OF THE COUNTY OF WATERLOO C.W.
Surveyed for
GEORGE JOHN GRANGE, ESQ.
BY
M.C. SCHOFIELD, P.L.S.
1853-54
SCALE 8 CHAINS TO THE INCH
Jacob Y Schantz
Sheriff Davidson

Part of the town of Berlin in 1853-54. (Public Archives Canada, National Map Collection, C-4257)

Berlin, in true German tradition, had a love of music and theatre which had been fostered by its Catholic and Lutheran immigrants. In the early 1860s the village could boast of two rival bands, the Glebe and Kaiser bands. But the bands soon merged to form The Berlin Musical Society under the leadership of William Kaiser. Composed of interested citizens, the musical society developed a band of twenty-two pieces, a quadrille band of six instruments and an orchestra of nine instruments. Part of this organization was later attached to the 29th Regiment Waterloo County Infantry. In addition, there were two singing societies, the Concordia, with 110 members, and the Saengerbund, with 154 members, which competed in the United States. Herman Theodore Zoellner, a versatile musician, arrived in Berlin in 1880 and his presence was an important factor in the musical development of the community. He took over the leadership of several musical societies, started vocal and instrumental classes, assumed the position of singing master in Berlin's public schools and formed the Berlin Philharmonic and Orchestra Society. The Philharmonic Society, with 80 members, staged concerts which included the works of Haydn, Mendelssohn and Rossini. Too, there were numerous church choirs which produced concerts and trained singers for the various organizations. The Friedensfest of 1871 and the Saengerfest of 1875, festivals of instrumental and vocal music, attracted German societies and Orpheus societies from Toronto, Hamilton, Preston, Montreal, Rochester, Chicago and Detroit.[31] John King and his friend William Jaffray, took a keen interest in attending these cultural functions with their families. To appreciate German culture more fully, King employed a German tutor in his home to teach his children.

The theatre was in vogue in Berlin and because the German immigrants were conscious of their unique heritage they formed their Turner societies. These societies served as clubs and gave opportunities for physical exercise through gymnastic training, music and recitations as well as theatre. They were organized to put on comedies and tragedies by popular German playwrights. The members read Schiller and several tried to write plays; they taught their children to act. From this evolved childrens' theatres and little theatre groups. Father Eugene Funcken, a playwright, directed the Knaben-Theatre (Boys' Theatre).[32] John King took a keen interest in this cultural aspect of Berlin. He attended many of these presentations and, on one occasion, wrote an address of welcome to the performers. As well he enrolled his daughters in gymnastic training, an art which they later taught to the girls of working-class families at St. Andrew's Church in Toronto.

The Mechanics Institute was founded in 1854 to foster good reading habits. It was supported by membership fees and private subscriptions, with books exchanged only on Saturday night. Within a decade, the library had one thousand German and English volumes; but shortly after, the building and its contents burned down. When the new town hall was erected, the Mechanics Institute was re-established on the first floor, beginning with six hundred volumes. It carried on with the administration of the library until 1884 when it became a public library, under the Free Libraries Act. The library was supported by King's friends, William Jaffray and J.M. Staebler. It was a place frequented by John King and his literary friends, for he had a great love of books.[33]

Sports were an integral part of Berlin life and in most cases were organized through specific clubs and associations. Cricket was played among the elite, Henry Jackson providing a grounds on his property, and to a lesser extent at the high school. Football was a great favourite and the town had a team, The Rangers, of which it could be proud. Competition on the field was keen between St. Jerome's College and the Berlin High School, on which team Willie King played for a time.[34] John, Willie and Max King loved both these sports and often engaged in impromptu matches with three or four friends at Woodside.

The town was interested in maintaining open areas of parkland which could be a source of recreation for both adults and children. The one most commonly used was also called Woodside, situated at the corner of Queen Street and Highland Road, about one mile from the Woodside home of John King. During the summer, boys utilized it to play lacrosse, baseball and football and during the winter, the King children joined others to enjoy skating on the open rink.[35]

John King believed in the future of Berlin and fitted into both aspects of its cultural heritage. He became a well-respected citizen in both ethnic communities and was able to live as the squire of Woodside. Berlin was hometown to his children, who thrilled at its development. Years later, when Willie returned to Kitchener he recognized the changes: no car tracks on Queen Street, the streets were wider, the old city hall was gone. But Woodside, St. Andrew's Church, Suddaby School and the Walper House, across the street from his father's office, were still there.[36] John King left Berlin in 1893 and he would never again know the contentment he had experienced in his life there.

John King's Career: A Consciousness of Purpose

Life at Woodside seemed to be the culmination of a goal for the lawyer John King. In retrospect, those seven years of twenty-six spent in Berlin represented the most successful, satisfying and happy years of his career. An examination of King's early years provides an interesting introduction to that period for they portray difficulties, struggle and achievement. At Woodside he realized self-fulfilment and gained widespread recognition through his legal research and writing. The subsequent move to Toronto, with the hope of more promise, proved anticlimactic.

John King was born on September 15, 1843, on Richmond Street in Toronto.[1] His father had died before his birth; his widowed mother was penniless - and his future looked bleak. John King Senior, born in 1814 at Tyrie in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, had been educated at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and had joined the Royal Horse Artillery. According to family history, he was dispatched to Canada and placed in charge of an artillery battery in 1834. During the Rebellion of Upper Canada, he was stationed as a bombardier at Kingston, and took part in the Battle of the Windmill in which he shelled the forces of his as yet unconceived son's future father-in-law, William Lyon Mackenzie. Between 1839 and 1842, he was stationed at Prescott and participated in the program of refortification at Fort Wellington. During that period he married Christina McDougall and a daughter, Rebecca, was born of the union. From Fort Wellington he was sent to Montreal, and then on to Grosse Isle where he was required to serve at the quarantine station. Rebecca died at Grosse Isle and John King Senior contracted some communicable disease. Taken to Quebec, John King Senior, at age twenty-nine, died on May 10, 1842, leaving a pregnant widow.[2]

Family history reveals that Alexander McDougall emigrated from Glasgow to Canada in 1830 and, with his family, settled first at Châteauguay, Quebec, and then moved to Toronto. When John King asked for Christina's hand in marriage, her father and her brother, Dougall, opposed the match, not wanting her to marry a soldier. Despite the refusal of permission the couple became secretly engaged. Alexander eventually relented and accepted King's proposal, admitting that "he was more for educat'n and less for dress."[3] Unfortunately, Alexander McDougall died in 1841, the year Christina married John King.

Christina King was given the £10.14.0 pay owing to her husband at his death and faced a lonely and perplexing situation. At first she considered going to Britain to stay with her late husband's family until her child was born. Instead, it seemed she stayed for a short period in Brockville and then went on to Toronto to be near her own family until the time of delivery. But the conflict within her family over her marriage to King had not been resolved for Dougall was still resentful. Christina had a son, John, and the memories of a husband killed in his youth. He had been a Presbyterian in good standing, an elder of the church he attended regularly, and held in esteem by his fellows. A sober man opposed to drinking, he filled his time with books and had collected a considerable library. He, in fact, had written a book on gunnery and military tactics which had been lost with his effects at the time of his death, but was published later by another officer.[4] Christina King's memories were the only link young John had with his father.

According to King family belief, Christina King ran a boarding house in Toronto and one of her lodgers was Louis Hippolyte Lafontaine who later, with Robert Baldwin, helped to bring about responsible government in Canada. While the legislature sat in Toronto, Lafontaine stayed with the small King family and became so enthralled with young John that he asked Christina if he could adopt the boy. As Lafontaine had no children he wanted to leave his name and his estate to John. But the young widow refused the generous offer because she could not bear to part with her son.[5]

During his formative years, John King's character was moulded by the influences around him. Contact with Lafontaine left him with impressions of a kindly French Canadian, a Catholic and a reformer who knew William Lyon Mackenzie. His mother's teaching reinforced the virtues upheld by his dead father. As a result he developed as a deeply religious Presbyterian, a non-drinker, a lover of books, and attracted to liberal politics but lacking the anti-French, anti-Catholic proclivities so common in Canada West. Later, as a father, he would imbue his children with the same traits and values.

Another strong influence in John King's life was his relationship with his uncle, Dougall McDougall. The earlier rift between brother and sister had healed and as Christina found it increasingly more difficult to raise a child on her own, Dougall took them into his home to live with him and his unmarried sister, Flora. The arrangement was a lasting one for Christina who lived with her brother until his death in 1894, returning at that point to live with her son John and his wife, Isabel.

McDougall was a versatile man and spoke French which he had learned at Châteauguay. He became involved in reform politics while gathering petitions and deputations for the Rebellion Losses Bill. It was in that context that McDougall interacted with Baldwin and Lafontaine, and perhaps it was Lafontaine who was instrumental in healing the rift between Dougall and his sister. Within the political sphere, Dougall was a friend and confidant of George Brown and John Sandfield Macdonald, both men instrumental in furthering his career.

As a journalist, McDougall published a family paper, the *Canadian Family Herald*, which he subsequently disposed of. For some time he wrote on reform politics for George Brown of *The Globe*, the *Hamilton Journal and Express* and the *Hamilton Banner*. He moved to Belleville where he was part owner and editor of the *Hastings Chronicle* and, in 1854, to Chatham where he undertook the editorial management of the *Kent Advertiser*. When Dougall established himself in Berlin in 1857, having purchased the *Berlin Telegraph* and the *Deutches Canadier*, he learned to speak German. His interest in an association of journalists precipitated the founding of the Canadian Press Association in 1859. He received the appointment of county registrar in 1864 from John Sandfield Macdonald and, in 1875, was chosen by the Alexander MacKenzie government to represent Canada at the Philadelphia International Exhibition.[6]

McDougall's involvement with the newspaper business, which entailed frequent moves from town to town, might have created a disruptive factor in John King's education. Within a short period King attended school in Toronto, Belleville, Chatham and Berlin; but this did not seem to be detrimental to the bright young boy. Dougall's appointments provided the financial status to assist John with furthering his education; but his lifestyle contributed much more. His exposure to different communities sparked interesting and intellectual conversations; his journalistic abilities were admired and emulated; his interest in reform politics evoked an attachment to public service - all of which would have lasting effects on John King.

Perhaps it is not so strange that the friendships John King made at the Berlin Grammar School were those that would endure. With Dougall McDougall settled in Berlin, it was the first place in which the young John King was able to establish roots and a sense of belonging. The need for further education returned him to Toronto, but Berlin was his hometown. While still a student, he helped his uncle in the newspaper business contributing to and assuming editorial charge of the *Berlin Telegraph*. Through Dougall he was able to maintain close association with the friends of the English elite, particularly the Colquhoun boys. Too, he continued to visit the homes of his numerous German school friends - the Staeblers, the Breithaupts, the Shoemakers and the Fehrenbachs. He was generally well-liked by the townsfolk and gained the confidence of some in rural areas as well. Because of that popularity, he was able to begin an early business venture, that of buying and selling ponies.[7]

John King entered the University of Toronto as a matriculant in the Faculty of Arts in September of 1859. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in June 1864, and one year later a Master of Arts. Throughout the greater part of his university course he was engaged as a private tutor and yet was distinguished as a student for his literary and rhetorical abilities. In recognition of his efforts, he won first prize in the University College as English essayist and public speaker, and the prize awarded for the best thesis by M.A. candidates. Twice in succession he was elected president of the University College Literary and Scientific Society, and later secretary of the University Association. Because of an interest in journalism, stimulated by Dougall McDougall, John King was one of the original projectors of a university journal and review. His name appeared as chairman of the committee in the first prospectus issued. Although the project failed because of insufficient support, it was subsequently revived as the "Varsity" and John King frequently contributed to it in the first years of its existence.[8]

Following in his soldier father's footsteps, John King joined the University Rifle Corps (No. 9 Q.O.R.) from its formation in the spring of 1861 until he graduated. During the Fenian troubles in 1866, he volunteered and served at the front with his former comrades in the Rifle Corps. It was in April 1865 that he was admitted at Osgoode Hall as a student-at-law, and at the same time was articled to James Maclennan, Q.C., in whose office he studied the profession. Having successfully passed as attorney and solicitor, John King was called to the bar in the spring of 1869. As a new attorney, he opened an office for a few months in Toronto. Concomitantly, he was appointed assistant law-clerk of the Legislative Assembly, and private clerk to the Honourable John Stevenson, Speaker of the House. While King acted in these capacities, Premier and Attorney-General John Sandfield Macdonald offered him the law clerkship which was vacated by the retirement of Mr. Miles O'Reilly, Q.C. However, John King declined the appointment in preference to active practice in his profession, which he commenced in December 1869 at Berlin.[9]

During the latter part of his law studies, John King met his future bride, Isabel Grace Mackenzie, daughter of the late William Lyon Mackenzie. At his death, William Lyon Mackenzie left a destitute widow and four daughters. Besides Isabel these included Janet, who later became Mrs. Charles Lindsay; Helen; and Elizabeth (the beloved Aunt Libbie of the King children).[10]

The Mackenzie family lived in the neighbourhood of the convent school of the Sisters of Loretto in Toronto, where Isabel was a day pupil. Apparently Isabel was a prankster, for a story was related that she dressed as a nun and waved from the convent to her mother, sitting in the window of their home next door. Mrs. Mackenzie assumed that this somewhat peculiar behaviour must be attributed to an insane nun. However, when she discovered it had been Isabel, she removed her from the convent school for fear that Isabel may be entertaining ideas of becoming a nun.[11] There must have been some substance to the story for, in 1895, when Mackenzie King met Archbishop Walsh during a distribution of prizes at La Salle Institute, he recounted:

> Archibishop Walsh spoke. I met him afterwards and had a pleasant chat. He said he was glad to meet me; spoke of mother whom he remembered as a little girl. He at one time offered to stand as her God Father when she was at the Convent if she would be Christened.[12]

Nonetheless, Isabel's association with the convent school had been pleasant and fruitful and she maintained friendship with the Sisters until she died. Besides academic subjects, the Sisters taught sewing, music and lady-like deportment, all considered essential to the upbringing of socially acceptable young women. Mrs. Mackenzie and her daughters opened their own school, based upon the knowledge Isabel had acquired from the convent. One of the students of that school recalled Isabel as

> ...a sprightly girl, taken with the lighter things of life. She had blue eyes and light hair, which she had difficulty growing beyond shoulder length with any thickness, as a consequence of which she curled it there and made it fluffy. She was slight of build, and not tall, but most pretty, and a pet of the family.[13]

Too, she was described as preoccopied with clothes, jewellery and shoes; a fixation which remained with her throughout her life.[14]

John King married Isabel Mackenzie on December 12, 1872, in Toronto. The assistant at the service in Toronto was the Reverend J.F. Dickie, who served as minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Berlin from February 1872 to the late 1870s. In 1900, while on a trip abroad, Mackenzie King met the Reverend Mr. Dickie in Berlin, Germany, where he had accepted a charge at the American and British Church. The Reverend Dickie recalled that John King had been described as the "long Scotsman who is running Bell Mackenzie." He related that, on the drive to the church for the wedding, John "was singing and whistling a Muskoka song, 'The North Wind Blows'." After the ceremony, Mr. Dickie had asked Mrs. Mackenzie if she would visit her daughter at his parish in Berlin and remembered her reply as, "Yes I must go and see how my bit lassie is getting along." However, Mrs. Mackenzie died before having the opportunity of making that trip.[15]

The young lawyer and his bride established their first home at 43 Benton Street in Berlin, where "Bella" or "Bell," Isabel Christina Grace King, and "Willie," William Lyon Mackenzie King, were born. The house was a simple but charming cottage, an old-fashioned colonial-type home with only one floor. Across the front ran a long gallery, centred by the main door with a window on each side. The lot was large, and from the gallery of the house John King shot at targets. In 1922 Willie visited the Benton Street home which, since that time, has been demolished. By 1876 the growing King family had moved to King Street where "Jennie" or "Jen," Janet Lindsay King, was born. Two years later they were situated in a home on Margaret Street where the youngest child, "Max," Dougall McDougall King, was born. The family remained on Margaret Street until 1886 when they took up residence at Woodside, adjacent to John King's uncle Dougall, aunt Flora and his mother, Christina.[16]

John King did not have to adjust to Berlin for his interests and abilities made him part of its cultural life. A well-principled man, a non-drinker who enjoyed smoking, he set high standards for himself and lived by them.[17] A vocal liberal in a liberal town, a staunch Canadian, an anglophile, yet he was flexible enough to respect the values and culture of his German friends and neighbours. He admired ingenuity and industry in anyone and at one time commented about a hotel in Portland, Maine, which was "built and furnished for visitors in 90 days - a feat of American energy and enterprise."[18] His open-mindedness and truthfulness endeared him to those he knew in Berlin in a way it would not in his later years in Toronto.

Like his father, John King was a firm believer in Presbyterianism. However, his personal beliefs showed no evidence of bias for he was on excellent terms with members of all the major denominations, often attending their churches for particular occasions. Religious controversy was contained within the limitations of his own church where he would conduct discussions or write letters about unconditional predestination or man's free agency.[19] As a Christian gentleman, he was an early exponent of the social Gospel; he was an avid reader of Charles Dickens whose work accentuated the need for that social concept. While editor of the *Berlin Telegraph* he had broadsheets printed with verse to be handed out by the newsboys on Boxing Day as a means for them to obtain gifts from subscribers.[20] He maintained this interest in those less fortunate than himself and instilled it in Willie, who would later form a Newsboys Club in Toronto. Because of faithful attendance and service to his church, he was made an elder, and often he and Dougall McDougall would travel out of town, at their own expense, for church meetings and Kirk sessions. From 1857 to his departure from

Berlin, he made personal friends of each successive minister at St. Andrew's Church.[21]

John King was a sociable man and the respect of his friends was paramount to him. As previously stated, King made friends among the members of the German community in his school days in Berlin and extended them into adulthood as very close relationships. Too, he employed a German tutor in his home so that the family could learn the language.[22] Yet, when Mackenzie King returned to Berlin to run for a seat in Parliament from the Waterloo North riding rumours were spread that the King family had been anti-German. This must have been the result of political partisanship and in no way could be related to the fact that later, during the First World War, John King had sponsored a motion in the senate of the University of Toronto to keep a close watch on alien professors.[23] Certainly, John King had never looked upon his German-Canadien friends as aliens.

Comfortably situated within the English-speaking elite faction of Berlin, King's connections, profession, interests and personality increased the circle of his friends from all walks of life. Included among them were Dr. Passmore, the Downeys, the Camerons, the Chalmers, the Halls, the Williams, the Lays, the Stuarts, the Colsons, the Travers, the Pearces, the Fennels, the Bowmans and the Olivers.[24] King maintained his relationshp with the Reverend Mr. Dickie after he left Berlin to take up a parish in Detroit. He was particularly close to the Reverend Mr. A.B. Winchester who had been a missionary in China before accepting a charge in Berlin. Winchester studied German at Woodside with the King children. In 1891 Winchester was appointed minister to a Chinese colony in British Columbia; and it was this close-knit interaction that stimulated John and Willie King's interest in the oriental population of Canada.[25]

Keenly interested in art, King predicted in the 1870s that Homer Watson of Doon would become one of Canada's outstanding painters. There grew a friendship between them for King was able to appreciate and speak animatedly on the subject. At a very early age Willie was exposed to these conversations, visiting the artist's home and taking delight in his work.[26]

Through Isabel King's brother-in-law, Charles Lindsay, John King made friends in Toronto. Among them were Judge and Mrs. Falconbridge, the Sheriff Jarvés, and William Kingford, the historian.[27] Too, John King was actively involved in the Canadian Press Association initiated by his uncle, Dougall. In this context, King became a close friend of Goldwin Smith of Toronto as early as 1876. When the Canadin Press Association held its thirty-seventh meeting it was specifically intended to honour John King, and it was attended, among others, by Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the Honourable George Ross and Nicholas Flood Davin.[28]

One of John King's early university acquaintances, James Connor, settled in Berlin in 1871 to become principal of the high school. Connor, a classical scholar, developed a friendship with Father Louis Funcken of St. Jerome's College and the two conversed in Latin, an academic process that must have delighted King. The camaraderie that developed between the Berlin High School and St. Jerome's College opened up friendships with the King family, for included in the relationships were Father Eugene Funcken, Father Theodore Spetz (the first Berlin boy to become a priest) and Father John Fehrenbach. After the Kings left Berlin, Father Spetz never failed to be at the station to meet Willie when he returned.[29]

At the time of John King's death, a member of the Colquhoun family wrote to his widow: "Mr. King's death has made me think so much of the old Berlin Days. I can see you all walking into church, Jennie with her highland dress on."[30] The relationships among the Colquhouns, McDougalls and Kings had been close - they had partied together and shared joint holidays at "Spring Valley." Among John King's papers and penned in his hand is a touching memorial written to his close friend and mentor, James Colquhoun. Although the author's name was not included, the memorial was carved in stone and placed in the Berlin High School.

> In Memory of
> James Colquhoun
> Born in Dumbartonshire, Scotland, March 19, 1804. Died in Berlin Ont., Sept. 11, 1877. An alumnus of Edinburgh University, a Barrister of the Middle Temple, and for Eighteen Years a Trustee of this School.

> A Scholar of Cultural Tastes, a lover of Books and Classic Learning, an encourager of the Youthful Student, a genial companion who tempered the sober Wisdom of age with kindly humour. A Zealous Friend and faithful Guardian of the Cause of Higher Education in this Community. This Memorial Tablet has been placed here by the Teachers and Ex-Pupils of the Berlin High School in Grateful Remembrance of His Public Virtues and Private Worth.
>
> SI JE PUIS
> Berlin Sept., 1878[31]

It is not strange that Willie entered the political sphere because politics were very much a part of John King's life. Although he may have realized from association with the Colquhouns that Conservatism was more socially acceptable, he followed the liberal political philosophy of his father. John King had been president of the North Waterloo Reform Association and often took Willie to meetings with him. In fact, in 1947, Mackenzie King recollected:

> ...my mother telling me that it was while my father was at a meeting at Lynwood that word went to him that the doctor had been sent for because of my mother's condition. Also that he hurried back. When my mother's condition was such that it became necessary to send for the doctor, Dr. Bowlby was sent for. I came into the world a month earlier than expected - an 8th month child.[32]

At various times, John King had been asked to run as a member for his riding but always declined because of financial obligations to educate his children. However, there is little doubt that his political activity, coupled with his journalistic contributions and written works on law, earned him a Queen's Counsel in 1890.[33]

Throughout his time in Berlin, John King's finances and income were adequate to maintain a middle-class family. His major financial problem seemed to stem from the fact that his cash flow was erratic and, therefore, at times his payments overlapped income for short periods which made budgeting difficult.

King's income was derived from several sources. A pony buying and selling business which he conducted out of Schweitzer's Hotel in Conestoga had existed long enough for him to purchase "Old Bill," the Woodside horse, and Willie's pony, "King Billy."[34] In addition, he represented the *Toronto Mail*, acting as respondent when on trips in Canada and the United States.[35] As a solicitor for the Canadian Press Association, he represented fourteen papers and received an annual gratuity of $640.[36] Besides his law office in Berlin, he also had one in Galt for about three years. For a time he was associated in Galt with E.J. Beaumont, in the firm of King and Beaumont, but the partnership was dissolved in January 1885. In Berlin, he was solicitor for the Consolidated Bank and for its successor, the Canadian Bank of Commerce. He was also county solicitor and Crown counsel, in which capacity he frequently conducted criminal cases at assizes in different parts of the province.[37] Too, friends that had left Berlin referred work to him, among them the Reverend Mr. Dickie, fluent in German, who sent legal work on behalf of a Mr. Beck and William Sneider.[38]

With all those commitments John King was a busy man. Correspondence proved that he was frequently away from home at assizes or involved in his own personal practice at Galt, Stratford, Chatham, Brussels or Toronto.[39] His "In Chancery" book showed a modest but steadily increasing business. Payments, though erratic, were sufficient to resolve any financial problems. Expenses included the cost of servants, a governess, private school tuition for Bella in Toronto and fees at the University of Toronto for Willie. Yet the family was able to take holidays and trips and to live comfortably at Woodside.[40]

John King's association with the University of Toronto did not end with his graduation. In May 1880 he was elected a member of the University Senate by his fellow graduates and re-elected frequently thereafter, once by acclamation on the vote of the graduate body.[41] In that capacity, he was required to attend meetings and to write letters concerning senate appointments. As chairman of a local committee, he collected funds for the university library by organizing festivals at the Berlin High School. Long after John King left Berlin, money was collected on his behalf specifically for the university library.[42]

Entertainment, holidays and recreational pursuits were part of family life. As an individual, John King enjoyed cricket, soccer, curling, fishing and hunting, but basically he was an academic and intellectual. Most of his spare time was spent reading, discussing and writing poetry, newspaper and academic articles, and books. His library and clipping files showed clearly the man's multiple interests. Clipping topics ranged from cricket and football to religion and education, the Canadian Press Association, William Lyon Mackenzie, Goldwin Smith, George Ross and Edward Blake. Included, too, were those concerning imperial affairs, constitutional law, political and military history, prohibition and libel. As well as political cartoons, early newspapers and reports on his legal cases, King collected poetry. The books in his library portrayed a keen interest in industrial relations, civil rights, working-class problems and, most prominent among them, the works of Charles Dickens.[43] This interest in literature became part of the inheritance bestowed upon the King children.

Quite clearly the greatness of Mackenzie King was bequeathed from a brilliant father. In his inaugural address on October 26, 1866, as president of the Literary and Scientific Society of University College, John King spoke on the power of speech, intellect and eloquence as a force to create social change in Canada.

> ...it can correct the most flagrant evils, or expose and eradicate the grossest wrongs. It can add new strength to the forces of social amelioration everywhere, and shed lustre upon an advocacy of the claims and a pleading of the cause of erring, oppressed or fallen humanity....[44]

He believed that Canadians were called upon to carry social change beyond the limitations of their own country. By their words and deeds, those most able to achieve this were those

> ...who go in and out amongst their fellows on errands of benevolence and good-will, promoting the peace, the welfare and the brotherhood of man - and who seek for lonely, oppressed or forlorn ones, and lead them to virtue and refinement by words to solace their cheerless misery, and acts of sweet charity.[45]

Acclaim for John King's literary efforts first began with an essay, "Our English Shakespeare," for which he won a prize at the university. Thereafter he continued to write poetry and articles which were accepted for publication in various academic journals and newspapers throughout the province. Chiefly, the articles dealt with reform politics, the affairs of the University of Toronto, labour, the judiciary, and the lives of Lafontaine and William Lyon Mackenzie. They appeared in *The Canadian Law Times, National Review, American Asiatic Association, Queen's Quarterly, British Whig, Toronto Daily Star, The World* and many other publications. The articles attributed to him were perhaps just a fraction of his total effort, for he did not list all his newspaper articles and, at times, wrote under a pseudonym (see Bibliography).

The major contribution of John King's literary talent was directed towards his works on law, many of them ranging from 800 to 936 pages.[46] These specific undertakings were initiated in the library at Woodside, particularly with the mammoth work done on *C.Y.C. Annotations To Cyclopaedia of Law and Procedure*. In the introduction to this work it was stated that

> Canadian citations in this volume, numbering over 34,000 and covering completely the Case Law upon the articles included from all Courts of Canada for the last 28 years, were prepared under the editorial supervison of John King, M.A., K.C., author of "The Law of Defamation in Canada", and Editor of "Newapapers" CYE 692.[47]

In the course of events, John King would be overshadowed by the greatness of his son, Willie. But, throughout his adult life and particularly at the time of his death, John King was widely acclaimed in the press, in law journals and in several compilations and biographies for his efforts. His legal writings were used as text books in the Law School and are still found on the shelves of the Great Library, Osgoode Hall, and Osgoode Law Library, York University.[48] Of extreme importance to him was the Law of Libel, for it was central to his belief in the levelling of society and all being equal under the law. This intense interest involved him in a case in Berlin where he defended an accused prostitute for, even in the Victorian age, King believed a person innocent until proved guilty. Although he never received credit for it, it was King who made amendments and suggestions for a libel bill, with specific connotations to newspaper libel. Perhaps King's contribution was purposely ignored, because the bill was introduced by the Conservative government in Ontario, under the auspices of James J. Foy, M.P.P.[49]

At an early age, the King children demonstrated some of their father's talent for writing. The shared interests and open encouragement for expression created a bond among them, particularly between John and the boys. Research techniques were a vital part of the education process in the King household. The sons observed the exactitude of their father's working methods as he repeatedly returned to Osgoode Hall to gather data. While Willie was attending the University of Toronto, John King stayed several times at his boarding house, conducting research and offering advice as needed to young Willie.[50] They discussed, criticized and corrected each other's work to produce the best effort and, as a result, John King had considerable input into Mackenzie King's preliminary work on "Industry and Humanity."[51] Max, who had entered the medical profession, wrote in his field, and on one occasion Willie commented in a letter, "Father and I spent the afternoon reading and revising the manuscript of your book."[52]

The King boys respected their father's opinion and accepted his advice but not without expressing their own views, because individuality was encouraged in literary pursuits. Honesty and frankness improved interaction.[53] Willie wrote to his father after he had asked him to peruse a manuscript:

> I cannot thank you enough for your kind letter, and the trouble which you have taken in revising the manuscript of the little memoir of Harper. I was greatly delighted and much relieved to find that what had been done was approved of by you. You have such a genuine knowledge and appreciation of good English that I know no one whose opinion in these matters I value as much. All the changes which you have made, with one or two exceptions, I have adopted.
>
> You evidently do not know the scriptures as well as you should, or you would have understood the reference to 'clouds returning after the rain'. You had better, on receipt of this, read over the last chapter of Ecclesiastes.
>
> I had made some of the changes which you suggested in the opening chapter 'To the Reader' before your revise came in. I think with the additional help which you have given, it is now in pretty fair shape.[54]

The spirit of co-operation, centred on literary pursuits, continued among the Kings. Willie King ran the *Labour Gazette* and John King frequently supplied articles for it and reviewed what Willie contributed.[55] Both sons were lauded for their work, Max as a doctor and crusader against tuberculosis and Willie as an early Canadian idealist.[56] Their greatness began in the library at Woodside, fostered through interaction with a brilliant and dedicated father. Max, Willie and John commented on the latent talent in Bella who wrote an excellent article on working girls, but unfortunately Bella's talent was cut short by her early death.[57] One of the greatest compliments John paid his sons was to dedicate a book to them, a feat which they considered an honour.

> Weren't you delighted with Father's book? The little dedication in front of it is something that we shall cherish greatly as long as we live. To have shared a common Alma Mater and to have been spared to each other for this kind of recognition is something for which we have reason to be profoundly grateful.[58]

The pilgrimage to Woodside had produced a charming life for the King family. John King's career had been directed by a consciousness of purpose, a self-fulfilling existence. He became an acclaimed author and legal expert. From his library, two sons would be raised to love literature, education and social concern, reflecting his world view. But most importantly, it was the environment in which one of Canada's future prime ministers would have his intellect sharpened.

The Victorian Family of John King

The years the Kings spent at Woodside exemplified middle-class family life in the Victorian age. The King family formed a primary social unit held intact through a cohesive loyalty among the members. The genuine enjoyment derived from doing things together fostered understanding and good humour. They praised one another's virtues and tolerated faults. Problems were solved jointly and kept private so that disputes were never aired in public. John and Isabel King loved each other deeply and their love was transferred to the children. As parents, they shared equally in the socializing of the children, never undermining one another's authority and, under their watchful eyes, the young Kings were inspired by example and disciplined when necessary. The close-knit interaction that occurred in the ideal setting of Woodside was such that only the good memories remained.

Before examining the specific roles of the members of the King family at Woodside, one popular misconception should be corrected. Several of William Lyon Mackenzie King's biographers have overemphasized the importance Isabel King played in the family. Among them, Bruce Hutchison in particular defined her as the dominant figure.

> The boy adored his mother blindly. To her and only her, King gave his whole self. The study of his life begins and ends in that woman's tender dominion. Isabel King, though jealous of her father's fame, ambitious for her family, and frail from her early privations, was a woman of extraordinary sweetness-saintly, mystical, yet playful, the boisterous companion of the children's games. Probably she alone, among all who knew him, ever understood her son.[1]

This type of evaluation negates John King's influence in moulding the minds of his children, most specifically that of a future prime minister of Canada. In that context, John King was the central figure of the family in the formative years.

Most certainly Isabel King played an important part as a wife and mother. As a perfect and entertaining hostess she was an asset to her aspiring, lawyer husband. Her various newspaper clipping files reflected her major interests, that of religion, poetry, and the position of women in Victorian society. The largest assortment, however, dealt with housework, washing methods, soaps, and women in the home work place.[2] Isabel King did not enjoy participating in mundane household activities, but she collected the information to direct the servants in the way she believed they should perform their duties. What Isabel King considered essential in a woman's role perhaps was described best in an article written after her death.

> Mrs. King believed that women should grace their homes, and be within themselves an inspiration to their families of gracious living. She was essentially a woman, believing that emancipation of women was not to make them more as men, but more powerful as women. Her dress was distinctive and beautiful. Her lace and her cameos were a joy to the connoisseur, and she wore them with such comely ease.[3]

Yet, as a mother, she was a gentle and considerate person, an ideal that Jennie hoped she had been able to emulate.

> If I have been able to give to my children the shelter, the quiet talks, and the faith in the natural decency of men, that was given to me by my mother, I have not lived in vain.[4]

There is no doubt that a fixation grew between Willie and his mother. But this was a post-Woodside phenomenon that developed when John King's health and fortune progressively deteriorated in Toronto, and intensified after John King's death, when Isabel lived with Willie at Kingsmere in the year before her death. Generally, historians have tended to relate the unique situation that developed between the adult Willie and his mother as part of the past, supplanting John King's motivating influence almost entirely. As distorted as this popular concept was, it was perpetuated even by Mackenzie King himself. It was not until the latter days of his own life that Mackenzie King recounted the important role his father had played in the lives of the family members.

Correspondence proved that while the children were growing up at Woodside, it was John King primarily who wrote to provide news and directions when he and Isabel were away. When the parents were at home, it was John King's rules that were observed concerning study, reading, chaperones and outside visitations. Once Willie went to university, it was advice and praise from his father that he eagerly anticipated and appreciated. That type of communication was forthcoming.

> You have done well during the last year, which has been an important one in your life, and you achieved what we long talked of and aimed N.B. a start in your university career.[5]

Throughout the time Willie continued his university studies in the United States, the letters written home weekly were specifically directed to his father. Although his mother's name was included in the address it was but a mere formality for his correspondence dealt with intellectual topics. Occasionally interjections appeared such as, "It may interest the children, in which I include mother, as well as aid them in their understanding of social and economic tendencies."[6] This practice of exclusive deference to his father was a source of altercation between Isabel and Willie and continued for almost a decade until she began to read, in depth, good literature and politics which enabled her to correspond in the vein which Willie most appreciated. Before that, her rarely written letters had been of a superficial nature, with petty inferences like, "I observed a slight change in the first line, Dear Father and Mother. The Maternal is to come first but I will gladly submit to the latter."[7] Willie, in his eagerness to share his knowledge with and gain the opinion of the more intellectual of his parents, had never meant to slight his mother or to imply that he loved one parent more than the other, responded with "...ladies first .... Mother before Father ... Two parents each one dearer than the other."[8]

By 1938, Mackenzie King began to realize that the trend towards the mother-fixation utilized by his biographers and political observers eclipsed his father's worth as a parent. Certainly his mother had not been extensively educated; what she had was acceptable for a lady in the Victorian age. But the implication, in an article by Lady Aberdeen, that his father had given up his own education to further that of Mackenzie King's, was more than he could bear. In a private manner, he relayed his concern to Jennie.

> There is one part of the quotation which is not correct, the one which refers to sacrifices which enabled me to have the benefit of a full education, which they never did, referring to Father and Mother. I made no statement of the kind, because, of course, it is incorrect. I doubt if my education was equal to Father's. What I did say was, had they not been willing to forego, as both Mother and Father did, much that they themselves would have liked to have done, e.g. Father accepting nomination for Parliament, I probably would not have been in Parliament today.[9]

The memorable visit to Woodside arranged by Breithaupt and Wagner brought into focus for Mackenzie King memories that had been blurred by time. Among them was the elusive quality of the relationship he had enjoyed with his father. In a poignant way, he confessed: "Father, dear dear and for a moment I seemed to feel in my person, something of himself - as if I were taking on a certain nobility of character he possessed."[10] The magical effect of that visit seemed to compel Mackenzie King to rectify, in his own mind, the popular misconceptions that had evolved about the influences that had directed his development: "I felt strongly how exceptionally fine was my father's life and the influences by which he had surrounded the lives of his children."[11] In the tenure of a true Victorian gentleman, Mackenzie King was always cautious of making public the private realm of his life, especially as it pertained to his family. Therefore, it was in his diary that he expressed his innermost thoughts.

> I spoke to the Judges of the experience I had in Waterloo, when I felt how strong the influence had been which had laid

Bella, Mrs. King, Willie and Mr. King, ca. 1890.(Public Archives Canada, C-7348)

> the foundations of my life and work. I said the experience of today had been similar in bringing up to me more strongly than ever what the influences of my home and my father's profession had come to mean. I felt that very strongly today. Indeed there was more remarkable revival of feeling of bygone years than anything I experienced at Kitchener. It was the library at Woodside and the library at 4 Grange Road which was most in my thoughts.[12]

But it was not until January 5, 1948 that Mackenzie King made any definitive statement about the overemphasis placed upon his relationship with his mother. At a personal level, he attempted to draw conclusions into their proper perspective. Concerning a discussion he had had about the exaggerated situation he wrote:

> In the course of the evening, Lily remarked about how much I owed my father, she spoke about how much people had become accustomed to think in terms of my mother. I told her that to my father, I owed more than I could begin to express.[13]

There can be little doubt that Willie resolved his dilemma before he died. As a man who kept all of his famiy correspondence he may well have re-read a letter he had written to Max at the time of his father's passing. In it he admitted that he had often been proud of his father but never had he felt so much pride as in witnessing his father's courage at the time of death. Willie described the fine qualities of the gentleman's face and how its features reflected the strength of his character, in Willie's words "the perfection of manhood." To live worthy of his father and to be able to wear a look similar to his at the close of life was all that Willie desired out of life. Further, he added:

> We shall all miss him, and our hearts will often be lonely without the knowledge of his zeal in our welfare, and his work to encourage and express the pride he felt, but I feel he has left us something larger which will be an even greater incentive, and that is the memory of a life that had high aims and ideals, that made our home one of culture in the truest sense, one where enduring virtues of love, fidelty, purity and appreciation of all that is beautiful and true was what was most prized.[14]

With John King's position in the family more equitably established, a more accurate portrayal of life at Woodside should be presented. When the King family moved to Woodside in 1886, the children were young - Bella was 12, Willie, 11, Jennie, 9, and Max, 7. Gone was the rocking horse made for Willie by Moritz Edward Lindner who was famous for his life-size display horses. Gone were the dolls and large-as-life Santa Claus the children had enjoyed in their various homes in Berlin.[15] Instead, the King children found excitement in exploring the spacious Woodside property and that of their Uncle Dougall's adjacent to it. Ball provided a great source of amusement, as did sliding down the bannisters of the house or climbing from the windows to a favourite cherry tree. They made play tents from spreads and, when they were older, were permitted to camp out on the grounds in real tents.[16] The children and the adults played croquet on the lawns of Woodside. The lawns also included a cricket pitch where John King taught his boys to play the game, a sport both engaged in for sometime. Willie played on a town team against Stratford in 1889 and was asked by his friend, Harry Lay, to play on the Berlin team against Parkdale in 1893. Max continued with cricket as late as 1904.[17] Too, it was on the lawns of Woodside that the boys learned from their father how to play football. Both boys participated in football with the Berlin High School team. Willie, a rather boisterous player, got into a fight with Jimmy Day in one match with St. Jerome's College, and at University he played varsity ball with Shannon Bowlby.[18]

Along with the boys, Bella and Jennie enjoyed winter sports. Skating, snowshoeing, sleighing, sliding down the hills in barrels and walking parties in the snow were great entertainment. When the girls were older, they were taught dressage in keeping with the socially accepted norms of their peer group. But a great source of winter fun was hitching "Old Bill" to the cutter and, along with a dozen other children, driving to Waterloo or

Bridgeport. After outings of that type, the young Kings and their friends returned to Woodside to engage in almond-eating contests, dance the Bon Ton, sing, or play "Jenkins up, Jenkins down" or euchre.[19] During the winter, the boys engrossed themselves in their hobbies of stamp collecting and chemistry. When Willie left for university, Max begged him to send more and more stamps to enlarge the collection. Too, he informed Willie that he had taken over the chemistry set and was frequently reprimanded for smelling up the house with the experiments he performed from the bedroom.[20]

In no way were the children isolated at Woodside, for parties with their peer group were a vital part of their lives. They were entertained by among others, the Travers, Bowmans, Staeblers, Bowlbys, Downies, Brickers, Ross's, MacPhersons, Robinsons, Vancamps, Millers and Gibsons. There were picnics at the churches, cobweb parties for the girls, soirees at which each gave a recitation. Sometimes there were carnivals, with all dressed up in costume to skate and then to return to Woodside by sleigh where someone would be presented with a booby prize.[21] Frequently, young guests, such as the Downie, Conery, Bowlby or Staebler children, stayed at Woodside overnight on the weekend or for a whole week at a time. Jennie and Bella, with their close friends Grace Bowlby, Reta Downie or Geneva Bricker, were often engaged by the different parents to assist at teas or cobweb parties.[22]

John and Isabel King enjoyed their children tremendously and gave much of their time to them. However, they also followed their own pursuits. As previously stated, John King enjoyed a variety of outdoor sports but treasured his quiet moments in the library at Woodside, where he could write poetry, books and articles. Isabel, who actively participated in games with the children, spent her spare time painting china and sketching with considerable skill. But spare time was limited, for the social calendar was full. There were constant "At Homes" at Woodside or at friends, obligations to respond to calling cards, and expected attendance at teas, where one wore a hat, or coffees at the Kranz or Seagram homes, where one was expected to remove the hat. The Kings went to Toronto to see the opera and grand concerts and, with the children and Miss Siebert or with the visiting Aunt Libbie, attended the German festivals and plays in Berlin. The older children were allowed to accompany their parents to some of the mixed parties or to participate in those at Woodside. In any case, mixed parties were closely chaperoned. Jennie, considered too young to take part in some of the festivities in which Isabel and Bella were engaged, resented the fact that it was her duty to drive her mother and sister to them in the buckboard. Perhaps it was required of her because she was the only one of the Woodside females who could handle "Old Bill." She had parties and concerts of her own to attend, often being asked to sing in duets. The highlight of her young life was being allowed to attend a ball sponsored by Mr. Fisher, the town's dancing master. Max was not involved in many of these functions because they lasted too late. However, compensations were made, and he was delighted at being allowed to see the minstrel show with his father.[23]

Isabel King was one of Berlin's exemplary hostesses. Jennie recalled the many parties her parents had had at Woodside, particularly the last one, in 1893, put on for the Berlin Glee Club. It was a gala event for which there was a printed programme and a platform constructed "out in front of the House" on which to dance.[24] The King parties were large and costly affairs and guests came from considerable distances to take part in them. The grounds lent themselves to Isabel's flair for decoration and motif. They were frequently described in the social column of the *Berlin Telegraph*, one example being:

> On Thursday evening, the 18th ult., Mrs. John King gave an At Home at her cosy residence, "Woodside." The warm weather precluded much dancing, but that did not in the least mar the pleasure of the evening, so a most sociable time was spent, everyone seeming in high spirits after the refreshing rambles of the summer holidays. The grounds were beautifully illuminated and the winding walks lined with Chinese lanterns made a very inviting promenade of which I noticed a number of young people availed themselves. Most of the society people of the sister towns were there and also a number of visitors, among

> whom I noticed: Mrs. Chalcraft of Toronto, Miss MacBeth of London, Miss Thom of Toronto, Mr. Campbell of Guelph, Mr. Holmes-Orr of Montreal, and Messrs. Johnson and Buckingham of Stratford.[25]

Another source of diversion for the Kings at Woodside stemmed from Isabel's superstitious nature. On numerous occasions the Downies, Camerons, Williams and Mr. King, the bank manager, got together with the Kings to tell fortunes. This activity was engaged in a light-hearted manner and all kinds of futures were predicted - Bella was to be married in a year and Jennie was to remain unmarried for eleven.[26] But Isabel seemed a little more serious about fortune-telling which created some misgiving for Bella.

> There is a fortune teller in town. She is staying with a friend. She says she is going to get the fortune teller to tell our fortunes. I don't know whether it is right or wrong.[27]

As well, Isabel's superstitious nature allowed her to worry about what she considered inexplicable dreams. This was particularly disturbing to her when the dreams involved her children and as she got older her apprehensions about them increased. As a result she kept John King awake at night, fretting until she wrote or phoned the children to see that all was well.[28]

Perhaps the most joyous occasions at Woodside were the seasonal festivals of the year. As times of family gatherings, shared with relatives and a few intimate friends, they were celebrated with great ceremony. Christmas was the favourite festival and for it Bella returned from Dufferin House in Toronto and Willie from the University of Toronto. Max was sent into town to purchase decorations for the house and the tree, and the children gathered fur boughs, periwinkle and bittersweet from Woodside to decorate the table. There was always a tree surrounded with gifts, and Max and Willie played Santa Claus, distributing the gifts as their father had done when they were young. Church was attended by the family on the Sunday closest to Christmas, but the religious atmosphere carried over to the day. After the feast, the family gathered together around the piano in the drawing room to sing carols and hymns.[29] One of the highlights of the festive season was the recitation of poetry John King had written specifically for his children. Typical of one of his long Christmas poems was this stanza.

> Why are the children glad with glowing faces
> To gather round us in the Christmas night
> And talk with gleesome hearts of verdant places
> Or dreamy reveries in the summer night.[30]

On New Year's eve the King family attended the Watch Night service and returned to Woodside where Isabel King established a family tradition: "at twelve o'clock I opened the back door to let all the bad luck out and also the front door to let the good luck in."[31] New Year's Day was spent receiving and visiting friends in the Celtic practice of first footing. After the Woodside era, when the King family circumstances were not as good as they had been, Isabel described her New Year's eve tradition in a more religious vein.

> Father, Bell and myself were standing at the open door letting all the bad luck out and praying for the good to come in and bless the whole family with love and plenty.[32]

Thanksgiving was celebrated at Woodside in the full meaning of its title. A grand dinner was shared with relatives and friends with the express purpose of giving thanks to God for His many blessings. Easter was a more nostalgic and reflective day, celebrated in an extremely religious manner. The family gathered together to sing hymns and to take turns reading from the bible and selective passages of religious literature.[33] Halloween, however, was the night for hilarity and fun, for the Presbyterian Scots had long lost the memory of All Saints' Day. Unlike modern times, the children did not get dressed up in masquerade, but parties were held at Woodside and at friends' homes where they ducked for nuts, bobbed for apples, pulled taffy and performed tricks for gifts. The King children enjoyed playing pranks - Jennie rang doorbells and Max and Willie upset neighbours' backhouses - without their parents' knowledge.[34] The mischievousness of Halloween at Woodside was not forgotten for in 1896, when Willie was at university in Chicago, Jennie inquired: "did you do anything exciting in Chicago! pull down sheds or anything equally exciting?"[35]

Birthdays in the King family marked the year as the seasonal holidays did. Celebrations included a party with invited friends, a cake filled with prizes, and presents. The gifts were either purchased or made at home, such as knitted, embroidered or leatherworked items, but were selected with care to please the receiver. John King received tobacco pouches, clothing and books, and Isabel delighted in pieces of china and items of clothing. The girls received gifts from friends as well as family members and these included books, hymnals, psalters, handkerchiefs, pieces of lace, needle cases or cups and saucers. As the youngest child, Max enjoyed birthdays at Woodside the most. His parties included his close friends the Travers and Gordon boys, and his gifts were to his liking - books on birds or how to harness horses, the "Youth's Companion," knives, footballs, as well as necessary items of clothing and studs. At one party he swallowed the nickle from his birthday cake, but managed to get the button and was annoyed that the real prize, the ring, went to the governess, Miss Siebert. No one was forgotten. When Willie was away at school a birthday cake was made at Woodside and sent to Toronto with friends to be delivered along with his gifts. When Aunt Libbie was away on a trip to France in 1892 she brought gifts of pins and jewellery boxes for everyone, including John King and his mother.[36]

The Kings travelled a good deal and took regular holidays; but holidays were taken separately from the children. While the parents were away from Woodside the children were left under the care of either their grandmother King or Aunt Flora and the servants. Isabel King occasionally accompanied John on his business trips, especially to Toronto where she would visit her relatives or Bella and Willie when they were at school. During the summer months they went on vacation with friends, such as the Colquhouns and the Dickies, to spent time at cottages or visit Boston, Detroit, Kingston or Welland. The major holiday for the Kings while they were at Woodside was taken in Portland, Maine, and even then John King was acting as a correspondent for a newspaper. But they derived a great deal of pleasure from that trip, and enjoyed the scenery, the seaside, the music, boating, swimming and fishing despite the harrowing railway journey. The children took trips, under chaperone, to Toronto to spend time with the Lindsays or with the Gibsons in the Berlin area. When old enough, Willie was allowed to go on camping trips, and the girls to cottages at DeGrassi Point.[37]

Although recreation and pleasure were part of family life at Woodside, the home was strictly regimented by rules for social control. There was a division of labour, with responsible routines established. Priorities were set and had to be adhered to. The parents expected obedience to direction. When Willie was away on a camping trip at Conestoga he received an order from his father: "I would like you to return home on Wednesday without fail, you may take the stage."[38] Even when Willie was a young man at university he would receive directives such as "I don't want you remaining till the end of the week,"[39] or be told that he could not come home for Thanksgiving unless school was out.[40] The children were forbidden to attend parties during the school week and could attend only those chaperoned by adults. No activity could be engaged in without prior permission. When Willie and Bella were teenagers they begged their father for a rink ticket to skate at Woodside Park, telling him that the skating was good and that all the other children had tickets, promising "not to stand around the rink."[41]

To the Kings, school had to come first. Jennie described the response she received to a flippant comment she made.

> I was just saying to mother that we would have to quit school a week before Christmas in order to get our Christmas presents made, but I was silenced before I had the words out of my mouth.[42]

By 9:30 p.m. lessons had to be completed, for at that time the children were expected to take part in evening prayers or prayer meetings, and then they were sent directly to bed. It was expected that the same regime would be enforced by the servants when the

Kings were away on holidays.[43] Bella, as the oldest, and then Willie after Bella left Woodside to go to school, were expected to help the servants take charge of the younger children. On his return home or by letter, John King demanded an accounting of the children's behaviour and activities. He expected to be kept informed of where they had gone if they went out, how long they stayed out, and whether or not they had studied. Because of the serious approach Willie employed in fulfilling his commitment to his father, he was dubbed "Old Grandpa," a term used in an affectionate connotation for years.[44] But like most normal children, the young Kings rebelled against authority at times. Although they complied with their parents wishes, they did not always do so without complaint. They managed to get into trouble by doing such things as boring holes in neighbours' fences and stealing apples.[45] Too much criticism illicited comments like Willie's "If you cannot read it get an interpreter."[46]

The daily routines at Woodside were fixed. The children rose in the morning, washed, did assigned chores and had breakfast before going to school. After school they were allowed to play until supper and then carry on with the evening routine previously described. Willie assisted the hired man with milking, collecting the eggs, planting the vegetable and flower gardens, picking the apples, raking the lawns, cleaning the stove pipes and beating the rugs. As a reward, he was allowed to sell the excess vegetables from the garden, but had to split the profits with his mother who purchased the seeds. Too, he cleaned his father's rifles, dusted his books, sorted his journals and filed the business accounts John King kept at Woodside. For this work, Willie frequently billed his father. As Max grew older, Willie and he formed a partnership to share in all things, and by the time Willie left Woodside, Max had assumed Willie's former responsibilities.[47]

In a similar manner, Bella and Jennie had assigned household tasks which were greatly augmented in the various periods when there were no domestic servants at Woodside. The girls took turns setting the breakfast table, preparing breakfast, helping with the supper meal and washing the dishes. Jennie, particularly, seemed overwhelmed with all that had to be done and complained that, with chores, lessons and prayers to be completed by 9:30, there was little time to read or to write letters.[48] Besides, Isabel King was frequently ill which added to the burden placed upon the girls. Many years later Jennie asked Willie to recall: "Do you remember at 'Woodside' it was always to me Father came when Mother needed help at night? Poor Isabel [Bella] could not wake up in a hurry."[49] Jennie and Bella had to do the housecleaning, a distasteful task to them. Isabel King took no part in it other than assuring it was done to her specifications. Bella complained that her mother "escaped a good bit of house cleaning" and that, "of all jobs on the face of the earth house cleaning is the worst," but, "we have all upstairs finished except putting down the Hall carpet."[50] Jennie's comments were more cynical.

> It is so delightful having no domestic ! Mother says she often wonders why she was made such a fine lady who hates work so terribly, I have to do it and wonder too.[51]

The children had additional responsibilities beyond those chores related to maintaining the household. John and Isabel King belonged to the Glee Club and the girls, in their spare time after school and on weekends, were expected to sell tickets for events staged by the group.[52] As well as cleaning and dusting John King's office, they had assigned tasks to carry out in connection with the practice. Even before the Woodside era, when John King was in his office in Galt, the children advised him by mail of the number and origin of letters received. Later, when John King was on holidays, Willie, Bella and Jennie kept him informed of the number of stamps used, the notes and accounts received and drafts presented. They protested notes, wrote letters, made up bills of cost on their father's behalf and advised clients of his return date. Those interventions permitted John King to keep his office open during the periods he was absent from Berlin. The children received no allowance or pocket money which might have prompted Willie to submit bills to his father for work performed. However, before Christmas each child was given $2.50 to buy gifts or to purchase the material to make them.[53]

Isabel King assumed the responsibility of looking after the household accounts, bills and general economy, a responsibility she undertook until the time of her death. But her love of jewellery, fine clothing and china frequently played havoc with the availability of household funds. The family seemed to accept Isabel's self-indulgent nature, but not without some consternation. John King described to Willie what occurred "when she was down on a shopping expedition from which God save me,"[54] and Bella reiterated, "Mother is down in Toronto. I daresay she has been in pretty near every store in Toronto by now."[55] These escapades would end when money was scarce, periods which illicited from Isabel such comments as: "Funds are at a very low ebb at present and we seem just to have run out of groceries."[56]

John King was hard pressed to maintain his family at Woodside but it became more difficult for him in Toronto. By that time he had to support his mother, two daughters, Max at the University of Toronto, and a still self-indulgent wife. A typical example of Isabel's failure to set priorities was described in one of her letters to Willie.

> I went downtown with the idea of getting myself a pair of boots and so forth when Jen and myself struck on some dishes such as I have desired to have for some time. I let the boots and stockings go and purchased a great bargain.[57]

She had the dishes put away and John King was to pick them up at the store, but they somehow disappeared in a mysterious manner. The then well-established Willie sent money to his mother in response to statements like: "If I were not in need of so many things such as clothes for the girls and myself..."[58] Strangely, a sick Isabel King, after receiving a cheque from Willie, could be up and dressed and in the clothing store in an hour.

Beyond the division of labour within the household, education of the children was part of the normal routine in the King family. Education in the formal aspects of schooling was extended by informal methods at home. In a more structured manner, the governess was employed to provide cultural diversity. The parents encouraged reading, writing and musical skills and active discussions in a multitude of topics to give the children an expanded world view.

All of the King children attended the Central (Suddaby) Elementary School and the Berlin High School. Bella was the only one who attended private school. For two school years, 1888 and 1889, she was enrolled in Dufferin House in Toronto where she studied history, French, German, geography, literature, grammar and composition. Although she enjoyed good meals and walking trips similar to those she had taken at Woodside, she was very lonely for her family. The highlights of her school years in Toronto were visits from her parents who took her out for walks, shopping and dinner; and it was with delight she returned home to Woodside. On the whole, she and Jennie were good average students.[59] On the other hand, Max was considered a poor student. He did well in English but badly in spelling and arithmetic. His lack of motivation illicited a teacher's evaluation of "not a good all around boy," but he managed to eventually become a doctor.[60]

Of all the King children, Willie was the most troublesome. He was frequently taken to task for skipping school to go swimming, cribbing on examinations, stealing plums from the property of his teacher, David Forsyth, ringing doorbells on his way home from school and, as previously stated, boring holes in his neighbour's fences to steal apples. Because of his pugnacious tendencies, he was always getting into fights, a feat which gained him the nickname of "Rebel." He was known to have raced his pony "King Billy" through the town of Berlin, scaring older people and other horses.[61]

Different people saw Willie in different lights. J.W. Connor, the principal of Berlin High School and the classics master, viewed him as a good student. The mathematics teacher, Adolph Meuller, wanted to know why Willie was at the bottom of the class. The response he got from Willie was that someone had to be there. David Forsyth summed him up as an average athlete, a rather poor sport who frequently engaged in brawling when his team lost a game. It was at Berlin High School that he gained recognition as a good debater. But he held grudges and made enemies over the results of a debating match. During his high school days, Willie never had any close friendships with girls. He did attend mixed parties and, whether or not he knew it, had at least two female admirers. Ema Bauer used to watch him play football from her home across the street from the school, and Zuleima Seyler referred to him at home as the silver-tongued orator. The close relationships established during the Berlin schooldays lasted long after Willie left the town. Those friendships, especially those with Shannan Bowlby, H.L. Staebler and Isaiah Shoemaker, were built on trust and loyalty. At one time, Isaiah Shoemaker and Willie King had shared the same seat at school. When Willie made his first out-of-Ottawa appearance as leader of the Opposition in 1920, he stayed at the home of Isaiah and his wife. At that time he revealed to the Shoemakers the prime reason he would never marry. To this day that confidence has not been divulged, even though Isaiah Shoemaker's son believes it would add to King's stature in history.[62]

While Bella was at private school in Toronto she wrote a letter home to Woodside, accusing her German teacher of "forever running down the Berlin German," which made Bella angry.[63] In 1891 over one-half of Max's school classmates were German and the King's decided to hire a German governess, Miss Siebert, so that the children would learn to speak correct German and be able to appreciate and understand the concerts and musical festivals in Berlin. Treated as a member of the family, Miss Siebert was employed by the Kings for two years and tutored John, Isabel, Bella, Max and Jennie, as well as the Reverend Mr. Winchester, in German. Willie was assisted by Albert Breithaupt in university German, but Miss Siebert provided him with additional German texts and grammar.[64] Miss Siebert's interest in calisthenics enabled her and the girls to pursue that activity under the direction of John King's friend, Captain Walter Clark, at the town hall in Berlin.[65] In addition, she gave singing lessons to the girls, and taught Bella, Jennie and Max to play the piano. As well, Jennie learned to play the organ at the church under Miss Siebert's supervision. Isabel and John King encouraged an interest in music; Isabel was an accomplished musician and was often accompanied at the piano by her husband who sang and played the castanets. But Isabel King did not have sufficient patience to teach the children. Her efforts with Willie had met with minimal success, for he could never play anything but a few simple tunes. The children progressed well under Miss Siebert; and Isabel had the piano placed in the drawing room so that she could watch the children practice from the library or the kitchen.[66]

The library at Woodside was a cultural focus in the King home, for there was a tremendous interest in books. It was John King's haven. When the children were young Isabel read and told fairy tales to them at bedtime, and as they grew older they accumulated books of their own. Books were read and discussions held in the library, at the dinner table and on long walks about the grounds. The family gathered in the library and talked about newspaper, journal and magazine articles, poetry, social problems and literature, a variety of topics; but John King led the discussion. He frequently annoyed the family with his habit of reading aloud, a habit they found distracting. To make sure that Willie kept up to date on political affairs while in university, John King sent him the *Berlin Telegraph*.[67]

Another myth that seemed to surround the King family relationship was that Isabel King was the agent who promoted the pride her children, especially Willie, had in her father, William Lyon Mackenzie. Shortly after the Kings left Woodside, Isabel wrote Willie an emotional letter which cannot help but make one wonder at the accuracy of that supposition. In the letter, she stated that "Max has been reading more of his grandfather's life and one day I was feeling very blue." It upset her, and "the trials of years gone by" engulfed her, and "the flood gates of my heart burst open.... So for all concerned about my welfare he has come to the conclusion that he will pursue the rest of the book himself."[68] From the Woodside correspondence there seemed to be no awe about the relationship with William Lyon Mackenzie in the children's eyes, for the horses were named "Old Bill" and "King Billie" and Willie was nicknamed the "Rebel." In fact, Bella addressed a rather joking letter to Willie when he was made president of his class.

> You seem to be such a young boy to be made a president but I hope in a big way the position you have attained will bring much pleasure....
> You will act in a way being a grandson of the late William Lyon Mackenzie.
> 'Is not thar [sic]- a Speech.'[69]

However, as a boy John King had developed an interest in William Lyon Mackenzie, having learned of his escapades from Lafontaine and Dougall McDougall. Dougall had been instrumental in saving the lives of William Lyon Mackenzie and his family, including the young Isabel, when attacked by a mob in Toronto following their return to the city on being pardoned. The proclamation for the reward offered on Mackenzie's life hung in the King home, but whoever was responsible for its display is unknown. Certainly John King could be more objective in his view of Mackenzie's career and, in fact, while at Woodside wrote an article and a book in his defence.[70] His numerous letters showed that he tried to promote a movement to honour Mackenzie and to have a portrait of him placed in the Ontario legislature. King retained a complete file on the Lindsay-LeSeur controversy over Mackenzie, even going so far as to make legal declarations on evidence he might use to support Lindsay's position.[71] The concern John King had expressed in having the proposed LeSeur biography of Mackenzie terminated was carried over by Willie. On behalf of Morang Company, P. Edgar wrote LeSeur, advising him:

> Mr. Mackenzie King has been buzzing angrily into the ears of a few influential people endeavouring to convince them that you are singularly unfitted to be the biographer of his grandfather.[72]

It seemed that Willie, the former "Rebel" of the Berlin schoolyard, began to display a more serious interest in his maternal grandfather when at the University of Toronto. He had visited the cemetary in the city and noticed his grandfather's small grave with no grand monument, and wrote to his parents at Woodside: "It made me feel proud to see it with all the boys around."[73] From that expression of pride, Isabel King, in later years, promoted the concept that Willie was to complete the work of her father.

It is from letters that one is able to gain considerable insight into the family life of the Kings at Woodside. Their correspondence was rich with information about their friends and relatives, social events and entertainment, sickness and death, social problems and religion, literature and what they had read. Moreover, it revealed their thoughts. Letters were read aloud and, in later years, sent around from one to another so that each family member was kept informed. At an early age, the children were encouraged to develop that skill in communication and, if away from home, were expected to write home promptly.[74] Tardiness in corresponding brought queries such as, "Why have you not written home?",[75] or reproachful statements like, "Now as you know how it affects the household when you do not write on time perhaps you will not be so remiss another time."[76]

The letters John King wrote to Willie at university were long and on an intellectual level; Max's were short and pertained to things he was interested in. Bella and Jennie supplied the bits of news and the gossip. There seemed to be a certain amount of competitiveness between them as to who should write first. Bella got angry if Jennie succeeded and accused her of using too many stamps, or, if that approach failed, Bella simply told Jennie to "shut up."[77] However, the rivalry did not last long and one letter described a more tranquil scene.

> ...For you know it is a week ago Thursday since our last letter from you. This morning Father was the first to find it and as mother had a little cold and had stayed in bed we congregated there and, while Father read your letter aloud, Isabel knitted and I crocheted. It took Father exactly one hour to read it and we were all delighted with the contents.[78]

It was important to Isabel King to maintain contact with her children but, until her later years in Toronto, her letters were short, infrequently written and lacked originality. On the other hand, she scolded Willie if he did not write once a week[79] and, in fact, implored: "What ever you do do not let a day pass without sending a card if not a line for a letter."[80] The infrequency of reply and the lack of content in their mother's letters disappointed the children. In 1889 Jennie retorted, "I have not written a very long letter but it (is) longer than yours."[81] Willie had to wait for almost two months after leaving Woodside before hearing from his mother.[82]

Her excuses for her tardiness were commonly phrased in such terms as:

> I am afraid I am not in writing trim today - I know you will say I am very often like that but I will leave all that father and I mutually feel for his pen which flows so much more fluently than mine.[83]

Another link which bound the family together and formed a major part of the socializing aspects of the King home was their profound belief in their religion and interest in their church. Sunday was rigidly maintained; the children attended Sunday school, and the family, services in the morning and the evening. There were rare exceptions when the routine was not adhered to, chiefly because of sickness, inclement weather or the occasions when there were no servants and Jennie was left to do the Sunday dinner dishes alone. Too, the Kings would not attend if a visiting minister, one whom they did not particularly like, gave a missionary lecture.[84] Grace was said at meals and family prayers recited before retiring at night. There were several religious paintings in the home and, as previously stated, the religious feasts were celebrated in a solemn way with the reading of selected literature. The close association with the ministers from St. Andrew's Church had considerable impact, for the ministers often stayed overnight at Woodside and, on those occasions, directed prayer meetings in the home.[85]

The Reverend Mr. Winchester, who delivered beautiful sermons, had a profound affect on a maturing Willie.[86] Isabel and John King were delighted with the new, more serious response in their son, and credited Mr. Winchester: "I think it will please him greatly to feel that the good he has taught you has so fully developed."[87] When Mr. Winchester was to leave Berlin for British Columbia, Isabel King asked Willie to return to Berlin so that he and Bella could receive communion for the first time from their close friend. She believed "it would (be) a long and happy remembered Sacrament if you took it together."[88]

John King was actively involved in the work of his church. He served as an elder and secretary and regularly attended presbytery meetings.[89] As a deeply religious man, he was frequently vocal about his beliefs, particuarly at home. His predispositoin to harangue met with criticism from the younger members of the family.

> Father has just commenced to read aloud out of the Presbyterian and dear knows when he will let up. It is decidedly awkward to write to you while this performance is going on ... Thank Heavens ! Father has let up at last. It is lovely to hear him read but not when you are trying to write ... I think Father is going again.[90]

Although Isabel King was a faithful church attender, there is little evidence to show her involvement in church work while the family resided at Woodside. Once established in Toronto, she became actively engaged in several church-related functions, and it may be that the association followed the pattern of what she might well have done in Berlin. However, both Jenny and Bella taught Sunday school at St. Andrew's Church in Berlin. On several occasions they brought their Sunday school classes to Woodside where they were entertained at tea, for supper or at parties. The girls played games with the children, romping on hands and knees to give them horseback rides. Assisted by Max and his friend, Harry Travers, they organized magic lantern shows, dialogues and singsongs. Bella and Jennie sang with the church choir and, sometimes, were asked to sing duets. With the Staeblers they attended Christian Endeavour, and both girls belonged to the Young Peoples group which Bella led. They joined a group, My Own Circle, symbolized by the wearing of a cross stamped with I.H.N., and which required its members to perform little acts of social work, an association that provided the girls with considerable self-satisfaction. In addition, they collected money for flowers and decorated the platform and pulpit of the church on special occasions.[91]

As a young child, Willie's behaviour in church indicated that he was the least likely to be religiously motivated. During the church service he spent time trying to make the other children laugh, and in Sunday school proved to be a nuisance by carrying out pranks, like tying the teacher's bustle to or braiding girls' hair around chairs. However, he was good in Bible class and remembered texts printed on cards and the shorter catechism.[92] As an aged gentleman, however, Mackenzie King recalled the religious background of his childhood, at times singing to himself the hymns he had loved as a child.[93] In reflective moments, his thoughts turned to his mother, "still being on Margaret St. and hearing her tell in bed, stories of the life of Christ and crying as a child when we came to the part of His Crucifixion."[94]

Religion had become a large part of Willie's life. Following the Woodside years, he collected religious paintings and frequently gave them as gifts.[95] The strong foundation in religious training established by his parents and stirred by the Reverend Mr. Winchester made him a faithful church attender while at university. With Albert Breithaupt, he belonged to and actively participated in Young Peoples and Christian Endeavour.[96] He was aghast that 40,000 people in Toronto did not bother to attend any church. So engrossed was he in religious matters, rumours spread in Berlin that he would enter the ministry.[97] In discussing the rumours with his parents at Woodside, Willie wrote:

> You know that it is between Law and the ministry that I am to make my choice. The way things are is this, that my inclinations are towards Law but I had rather they were towards the ministry.[98]

For the age with its Protestant crusade and overt sectarianism, the Kings were an ecumenical family. They intensely disliked any show of disbelief.[99] While at Woodside, the family attended evangelical meetings at the Methodist Church. Although Jennie had to ask permission to go to the Anglican Sunday school picnic, she often went to Good Friday services at the Anglican Church with her friend, the minister's daughter. When Bishop Baldwin came to Berlin, John, Isabel and Aunt Libbie attended the Anglican Confirmation service and, following it, went to the reception at the Downies.[100] It seems that, at sometime, the King children must have witnessed a Catholic mass as is indicated in the following comparative observation:

> I went with the Travis' to St. Thomas Church. It seemed exactly like the theatre but I enjoyed it very much. The music was lovely and we had a good sermon but their Communion Service is more like a Catholic service than anything I have ever seen. St. Mathias seemed higher but this was highest.[101]

Certainly, there was no evidence of anti-Catholic sentiment. Isabel King had remembered her association with the convent school and, when the family took up residence on Grange Road in Toronto, she resumed her formed close relationship with the Sisters. She recounted to Willie:

> Sunday we could go and see the Nuns. This afternoon Jen and I are going across to the convent as Sister Theodora met Father and told him Sister Purity would be here for a day and wished to see me.[102]

When Bella began to show a talent for writing, Max, in discussing future plans for her with his mother, suggested: "It would be a good thing also if Bella can work at Loretto Abbey and a few other places."[103]

As a religious family, the Kings believed firmly that death was just an entrance to another world. Although no one in their immediate family died while the Kings were at Woodside, their correspondence reflected a melancholy preoccupation with death.[104] They felt keenly the passing of friends or of neighbours. Statements, such as "I noticed the crêpe on the door," were followed by lines of morose prose.[105] Perhaps the most traumatic experience for the King children at Woodside was the loss of their little dog, Fannie, by poisoning. The incident occurred while their parents were away and Willie, who retrieved the body of the family pet, wrote:

> We went next morning and got Fan and buried her and put stones over her grave, buried her just opposite the barn in the woods near that post, and little Max every few minutes would run and sit on her grave and cry. We do miss her very much.[106]

Jennie reflected on what the living creature had meant and the finality of it all: "when I think that we shall never hear her bark again and never play with her more, I cannot help but cry."[107] Max, who in his childlike way sought compassion from his God, wrote simply: "gentle Jesus meek and mild look upon a little child."[108]

There was considerable preoccupation with health and the prevention of illness. Although Isabel King seemed to have been ill frequently, the only sickness diagnosed was shingles. The common complaints among the other members of the family were tonsilitis, colds, grippe, sprained ankles and the effects of overeating. The children were constantly cautioned to avoid eating green apples and cucumbers. Home remedies included Florida water, castor oil, wizard oil - any kind of purgative. The Kings went to a family doctor and, besides, the children and Miss Siebert had dental work done which, they complained, hurt considerably.[109]

The axiom "Cleanliness is next to Godliness" must have been difficult to uphold at Woodside which lacked the conveniences of several homes in Berlin. By the time the Kings moved there the children had outgrown their little barber chair, and they were at an age when good grooming was more essential, especially for the girls. The family pictures indicate that considerable time must have been spent on primping; but topics of such an intimate nature were not recorded. Bella wrote with delight about the experience of bathing at a friend's home in a bathroom tub where it did not matter if water was splashed on the floor.[110] Woodside lacked that luxury. The only water in the house was obtained from the pump in the kitchen and had to be heated on the stove. Each bedroom was furnished with a washstand, and it is most likely that a bath was taken in a portable hip-tub, a commonly used piece of equipment in the homes of that age. Too, each bedroom had a chamber pot, as the only toilet facility was an outdoor privy.

The Kings were clothes conscious. Photographs portray the children well dressed in everyday, Sunday or cavalier outfits for plays. When they grew older they dressed in the style for their age - Max and Willie like their father in conservative fashion and the girls beautifully dressed, but without the flair displayed by their mother.[111] While Bella was at Dufferin House she was kept in modish attire. Many of her clothes were purchased, the favourite among them jackets with pretty collars and cuffs.[112] At eighteen she made her debut and for the occasion received a lovely jacket of Bedford cord with a hat to match. In Jennie's evaluation, Bella was "coming out very fine" for the clothing suited her "style of beauty."[113] As a matter of fact both girls were attractive, but Jennie was prettier for Bella tended to be overweight.

Much of the clothing, including hats, was made at home and the periods in which servants were employed allowed more free time for sewing. Mrs. King and both girls were expert milliners and dressmakers. They were good at alterations and making over the older styles in their wardrobes to outfit them for the numerous social events to which they were invited. They were kept busy, to the point where Bella could say, "The dressmaking establishment is still in full force."[114] They worked in the library, the drawing room or the bedrooms, often in a flurry of activity to prepare such things as flannel wrappers for gifts for the family or outfits for special events. An invitation to tea at the Sommervilles required the creation of a dark green dress trimmed with fur and a green velvet bonnet for Isabel King, a shirt for John King, a crimson dress and hat to match for Bella, and a navy blue dress with a blue felt hat for Jennie. For the Glee Club concert, to which Jennie and her friend sold 110 tickets compared with Bella and friends' 76 and John King's 35, the girls were outfitted with green and yellow dresses, and Mrs. King one of shot cloth and beaver fur, with stockings and bonnet to match.[115]

The girls also performed the mundane tasks of mending Max's trousers and darning socks, including those Willie sent home to Woodside for that purpose. Perhaps because men's styling was more stable and the clothing more durable, or simply because there wasn't enough money left, there did not seem to be as much interest in the clothing of the male members of the family. Willie had been outfitted with a new hat, a dress suit, an overcoat and been given the gift of silk handkerchiefs. Mention was made of John King purchasing a silk hat. At any rate their acquirements never stimulated the excitement the girls exhibited over getting riding habits or the activity surrounding the choosing of just the right materials for whatever reason.[116]

Jennie L. King, sister of William Lyon Mackenzie King, ca. 1895.
(Public Archives Canada, C-46515)

Isabel King was an excellent cook. When there were no servants her daughters assisted her in the preparation of meals. The variety depended upon the season and financial circumstances. Food was cooked on the large woodburning range in the kitchen. During the summer months the stove in the back kitchen was utilized, probably to keep the house cooler. The family loved fresh fruit, especially the cherries and apples grown at Woodside, as well as pears, peaches, berries, oranges, bananas and figs. The garden provided them with tomatoes, cucumbers, peas, celery and onions as well as a few other vegetables stored in the root cellar under the kitchen. Chickens supplied eggs and meat, and cows, milk, but butter was not churned. It seems the Kings kept a few pigs, but they were sold for slaughter. Included in their diet was pork, lamb, beef, chicken, bacon and ham; John King's favorites were oysters and fish.[117] Groceries were purchased on account and the items on several bills in 1893 included coffee, sugar, tea, lard, butter, bacon, tomatoes, berries, vinegar, cheese, ham, peaches, lemons and salt. From these accounts, it seems that by 1893 chickens were no longer kept on the estate.[118]

As well as cakes and puddings the Kings loved candy, particularly white candy or divinity fudge. Taffy making involved the whole family and frequently some of it was sent to be shared with Willie at university. Often as many as twenty-three jars of fruits and vegetables were preserved at one time for use in the winter. A special brass kettle was used to make jams and jellies and these delicacies were stored in a special cupboard in the hall opposite the library. For Christmas, Isabel made the traditional plum pudding and Bella the fig cakes; and while Miss Siebert was at Woodside she baked a walnut cake, a German favourite. Recipes for the culinary delights the Kings enjoyed included white fruit cake; date pudding; never-fail sponge cake; orange marmalade; pickled peaches, plums or any other fruit; and ginger beer.[119] Company brought out the best effort and many guests recalled the enjoyable meals they shared at the dining room table at Woodside. One menu which survived is taken from a family letter written by John King in 1899; it might well indicate what the Kings were accustomed to serve on special occasions at Woodside. Labelled a "Royal Luncheon, served at 147 Beverly Street on Monday, September 18/99," John King documented it as:

> Soup a la Tomatoe
> Fish. Salmon a la pain
> Lamb chops. Green peas
> Tomatoes. Pomme de terre
> Chicken Cutlets a la Mrs. Joy
> Lemon Pudding
> Charlotte Rousse
> Peaches pears plums grapes
> etc.
> Candies salted almonds
> Coffee Rolled Bread & butter cake[120]

The Kings employed servants to assist with the housekeeping, cooking and other activities, but they proved an almost constant problem. One of the earliest was Polly Pugh, engaged as a nurse maid when the children were very young. She must have had a difficult time, for in Willie's words: "I remember her from the age of four. She told me I would stand in front of a railway engine till it nearly struck me."[121] The first servants at Woodside, of whom there was any record, were Robert and Mary who lived in their own quarters off the kitchen. Mary cooked and cleaned and Robert tended the garden and the few acres of farm land on which hay was grown. He milked the cows, collected and eggs and fed the animals. His duties included cutting the wood, emptying the stove pipes, hauling the ashes, and assisting with the more strenuous housecleaning tasks, as well as driving the horse into town.[122]

It seemed that servants were constantly coming and going and finding people suitable to do the jobs expected was difficult. In 1890 John King brought home a couple he thought might do, the man showing more promise than the woman.[123] But in a very short time King was forced to admit:

> We think our servants won't do -especially the woman who is troubled with Rheumatism and is complaining vile health, she can't cook and says she is not strong enough to wash - we had to get a woman to wash yesterday - and altogether she is far from what she said she was.[124]

Washing was no easy chore in those days. The water was pumped in the main kitchen and hauled to the stove in the back kitchen to be heated. The clothes and linens were scrubbed in the adjacent laundry room and hung outside to dry. The main kitchen had a mangle with which to smooth the linens, but the operation of that piece of machinery was difficult work.

The constant turnover of hired help was a disruptive factor to the family. At various times they had in their employ a hired hand, a housekeeper-cook and a maid but often their presence was more trouble than value. When they were fortunate enough to find a girl who liked Mrs. King, she invariably left to be hired elsewhere for better wages. One hired hand, William, had remained at Woodside for a considerable length of time. Willie, who had assisted William with the chores, taught him the scriptures; but unfortunately William got drunk and had to be dismissed. His dismissal coincided with the departure of a satisfactory maid and the girl hired to replace her quit after one week's work.[125] It was at Christmas that the King women most appreciated help in the house but, in Bella's evaluation, "cleaning up after the dirty creatures is far worse than the work."[126] Although the girls frequently complained of the burden of work, the absence of unsatisfactory servants drew conclusions like "We are our own domestics at present and a very happy lot."[127]

But the Kings pursued their search for acceptable servants from the local area. Early in 1892, Jenny was delighted to report: "We have another domestic who arrived last Wednesday and we think she will get along very well after she gets used to the house."[128] In addition, they were fortunate to have found Elias Kuhn as a replacement for the dismissed hired hand, but he remained at Woodside for only about a month.[129] At the same time, the new domestic, Katy, had begun to act up. For example, she wouldn't let Mrs. King go into the kitchen.[130] When reprimanded for her actions she evidently created quite a scene for "she then performed a war dance around Miss Siebert and slapped her hands and said that she was going in a week."[131]

It is difficult to determine the source of the servant problem. It may have stemmed from the personalities of Mrs. King and her daughters and their fastidious natures. The amount of money they were expected to work for might not have been equitable for what they were expected to cope with. Besides having an acceptable demeanour they had to have physical stamina to produce satisfactory results. But circumstances determined needs and an applicant might be hired even if, in the words of Isabel King, "she looks too delicate to carry coal."[132] In their last year at Woodside, they looked beyond Berlin to obtain help. A request was made of Willie, who taught at the Sick Children's Hospital in Toronto while he attended university.

> Mother wants you to ask when you go to the hospital if they know of any little girl about fourteen who wants a home. Mother will clothe her but pay her no wages and she will just have the easy work to do. Tell them that we keep a man and his wife and she will have no hard work to do. Be sure and see about it for Annie only stays on the condition that she comes.[133]

The problem of keeping servants persisted when the Kings moved to Toronto. Their reduced financial circumstances may have limited the selection and, in an attempt to maintain their accustomed life style, Mrs. King applied to Great Britain to obtain help. She received the following reply:

> IN CONSIDERATION of my Passage Money (Second Class) being advanced, I, Jessie Strachan, HEREBY AGREE to enter the service of Mrs. King, 4 Grange Road, TORONTO, Ontario, Canada, as General Domestic Servant, and to perform the duties as such to the best of my ability. And I FURTHER AGREE to proceed to Toronto on board the S.S. PRETORIAN sailing from Glasgow on 1st September to Montreal, and thence by Railway to destination, and that the cost of passage money and Railway fare through from Glasgow, amounting to Eight Pounds, seven shillings and ninepence (£8.7.9) be deducted from my wages by the said Mrs. King, during the first year of my service. Wages to be at the rate of Twelve Dollars per month.[134]

But it wasn't just Isabel King who had servant problems for, as late as 1936, Jennie admitted to Willie: "I had five maids in the last month."[135]

Despite an almost constant time of conflict and consensus, life at Woodside was a happy one for the King family. As the years passed, the conflicts were forgotten; the consensus and the contentment it brought were what was remembered and idealized. They exemplified Victorian privatism, containing internal problems within the confines of the family unit. By functioning within set parameters, the family was united in a cohesive manner, reflecting love, respect and understanding for one another. In retrospect, the Woodside era seemed almost perfect to the Kings, more than what it had been in reality.

The Fabric and Environment of Woodside

Woodside, the container of the King family, was more than just a house. It was surrounded by a specific, estate-like environment from which it might well have drawn its title. Its history began in 1853 with the Colquhoun family who retained it throughout the King period of occupancy and into the twentieth century.

Initially, the Woodside estate formed part of George John Grange's vast holdings, purchased from the owners of the original Germany Company Tract. In 1853 Grange commissioned Milton C. Schofield to survey that particular parcel of land and subsequently it was subdivided into lots. The largest lay outside the perimeters of Berlin and, of them, lot number 549 became James Colquhoun's and, later, lot number 548 was to be acquired by Dougall McDougall.[1]

After having gained recognition in the English courts as a brilliant lawyer, James Colquhoun, a barrister of the Middle Temple, London, England, emigrated to Canada in 1842 with his wife, Mary Bryce Colquhoun. Mrs. Colquhoun was the sister of Sir James Edward Alexander, a knight, a colonel and later a general in the British army, and author of *L'Acadia*, a travelogue of Canada. On arrival in Upper Canada, the Colquhouns stayed for a short time with a family friend, Sir Allan Napier MacNab, at Dundurn Castle in Hamilton. They then settled in Galt where Colquhoun established a law practice and entered into the speculation of land in Ayr.[2]

By 1852 James Colquhoun decided to move to Berlin where he with his wife and four children took up residence on Frederick Street. His children ultimately gained a modicum of success. Frederick became a lawyer, Gideon, a clerk in the Merchants Bank, and Edward, a politician who entered the field in Hamilton where he acted as member of Parliament for West Hamilton and mayor of the town. On a trip to England, Colquhoun's daughter, Katherine, met and married the Reverend Daniel Smart, an Anglican minister, and took up residence at Blandford, Dorset.[3] But from the assessment rolls of 1853, James Colquhoun, who with his family lived on a three-acre estate on Frederick Street, was listed simply as a householder with one horse, one cow and three dogs.[4]

In the same year, Colquhoun evidently acquired part of lot number 549 from George Grange, for Grange's survey of 1853-54 recorded the name of the home as Woodside with John Colquhoun as occupant.[5] Originally the wedge-shaped, rectangular lot encompassed 13.58 acres of land; but the purchase of an additional strip of land on the west side of the estate, from Grange's own holdings, increased its size to 14.75 acres. That arrangement provided Colquhoun with an area of orchard and farm land on which to grow hay for his animals and to plant a kitchen garden.[6] Grange's property, lot 548, included a large orchard, farm land, two gardens, a house and eight other buildings. In addition, on his huge lot 550 directly south across Spring Street, Grange had developed a big orchard at the corner of Spring and Lancaster streets. Woodside, then, on its western boundary, was adjacent to Grange's property, lot 548, which lay between it and Lancaster Street. To the north was Sheriff Davidson's property which extended west across the top of Grange's property to Lancaster Street. On its eastern periphery lay open land which may also have been part of Sheriff Davidson's holdings. The only access to Woodside was from its southern border which ran along Spring Street, directly opposite the open farm land of Grange's lot 550.[7]

However, the manner in which James Colquhoun possessed Woodside is uncertain, for it was never registered in his name. Although Colquhoun was in possession of the lot and the house, the estate remained registered in Grange's name until 1859.[8] There are several conjectures which might explain the unclear situation. One is that although Colquhoun gave the property its name and began to build in 1853, he may have required more time to establish sufficient income to allow him to live at Woodside. Too, it seemed that the house was constructed in a series of three additions or wings over a period of years. At any rate, in 1858 the indenture stated land and premises, which could indicate that the house had been completed by that time. An addendum, also dated 1858 and attached to the indenture, stated that Colquhoun purchased the lot. Even so, the estate, in the value of $1260, was transferred to General, Sir James Edward Alexander of Westerton, Bridge of Allan, in Scotland, and James Maidment Morrison, a banker in Stirling, Scotland, trustees under the marriage settlement of James Colquhoun, Esquire, for the benefit of his wife Mary and their children.[9]

The unusual circumstances surrounding the arrangement between Grange and Colquhoun were legal and common in the period; but the period between occupancy and registration was somewhat protracted. Grange was in financial difficulty, threatened with a sheriff's sale of his holdings for nonpayment of taxes. Various arrangements with prospective purchasers may have granted him time to meet his financial commitments. What is equally puzzling is the fact that, although in the survey of 1853 Grange was shown as Colquhoun's neighbour,[10] another map of the town showed H.B. Eby as holding Grange's lot 548;[11] yet Dougall McDougall purchased the same lot from Grange in 1867.[12] Strangely, Dougall McDougall, as registrar of land from 1866, lost his position in 1891 because of irregularities.[13] But whether the irregularities had any connection with those early arrangements is questionable.

Regardless of James Colquhoun's implied occupancy, the estate was held by dower rights in Scotland until 1890. Colquhoun died intestate in 1877, and in 1878 Mary Colquhoun became administrator of his estate, exclusive of Woodside.[14] Yet a map of 1875, which depicted Dougall McDougall as owner of Grange's former Lot 548 and J. Peterson as owner of Lot 550 across Spring Street, also showed Mrs. Colquhoun as owner of Woodside.[15]

After Mrs. Colquhoun's death, it was not until 1885 that her son, Frederick, gained power of attorney to act as agent for the trust in order to provide more convenient arrangements for the rental of Woodside.[16] The house had been rented to Dougall McDougall between 1883 and 1885 and by that time the furniture had been removed from Woodside so that McDougall had to furnish it himself.[17] Between 1886 and 1890, John King rented the property from Frederick Colquhoun who was acting as agent for the trust. However, in 1890 the property was transferred from the trust to Gideon Colquhoun who was to act for himself, his brothers, Edward and Frederick, and his sister, Katherine A. Smart.[18] It was during 1890-93 rumours had spread in Berlin that Woodside was sold; but it remained in the hands of the Colquhoun family until 1924.

It seemed that without registering the property, James Colquhoun began to build Woodside in 1853. From the memories of older inhabitants, it is possible that he utilized the services of a local contractor, John B. Clemmen, who lived on Queen Street in Berlin. By that time there were numerous, local, skilled tradesmen in Berlin to perform the work - carpenters, stone masons and bricklayers.[19] Regardless of who constucted it, Woodside has been described variously as a "Lowland Scottish Cottage"[20] or of transplanted "Early Victorian English Country Style."[21] The plan James Colquhoun employed can be described as Picturesque, an outgrowth of the Gothic Revival, chosen or developed to allow for flexibility in planning additions or alterations. That style had its roots in late eighteenth-century Britain and was popular in Ontario until the 1850s. Woodside was described in *The Ancestral Roof* as typical of that architecture.

> During the 1850's the most popular plan was the L-plan. This allowed for a choice of gable and roof pitch, a piece of verandah with the front door entered off it, a kitchen tail - an asymmetrical house which could be extended in any direction, and which obviated the necessity to balance room sizes about a centre hall in order to give Classical order to a façade.[22]

The original house was set on a stone base. It was constructed of sun-dried bricks set in common bond pattern, the joints neatly tooled. The roof was covered with shake shingles and the eaves and gables were decorated with bargeboard in a fleur-de-lis pattern. The gable to the west had a finial point which might mean the initial entrance had been from that side. The house was cleancut, without the usual dormers, and the windows were long, rectangular and sliding, without the common pointed Gothic top. The windows on the south side, excluding the kitchen wing, had running, course brick lintels, which formed a flat arch across their tops. The other windows constructed in a similar manner were the small window built into the stone foundation, probably for the root cellar, and a second floor window on the east side. The entrance to the north had a series of small sidelight windows which surrounded the door in a rectangular fashion. The house was designed to include five chimneys, two in the west wing, two in the central wing and one in the kitchen.[23]

Although Woodside retained a low, uncluttered design, it may well have been built in three distinct units, for it would lose little in function if the central and kitchen wings were taken away. The solid brick bearing walls between the various wings suggest progression and change in design, because the nature of the brick bearing walls at Woodside were unnecessary for the total design and certainly more expensive than timber. If, in fact, it was built in three stages, the original house would have been what was ultimately the two-storied west wing. That particular unit is suggestive of the typical nineteenth century Gothic Revival farmhouse, with its small gable and finial point and two chimneys, one at each end. The central first floor window might well have been the doorway for it was longer by one pane than the two side windows. Granted the two floor, one section house would have been too small for the six Colquhouns, but, considering the nature of the purchase and Colquhoun's middle-class standing, he had time and money to alter his plans. As the single wing stood it was functional. The two chimneys might have serviced fireplaces or stoves. The door, as suggested, entered into the future drawing room or library, depending how far the central hall extended. Part of the future library might have been the kitchen, the remainder the dining area, and the future drawing room left intact. Stairs to the upper story of the house ascended from the end of what might have been the central hall. To provide adequate sleeping accommodations the bedrooms would be small. During the King occupancy, the division in the spare room was removed but that still allowed for four bedrooms in the initial stage.[24]

What seems a logical progression is the addition of what was to become the central wing, primarily to extend the living space and to avoid traffic through the centre of the house. With the entrance from the north, the central hall plan could be changed to a side hall plan. In the central wing the dining room had been divided into two rooms, dining area and kitchen, with two chimneys in that wing, either of which could be used for cooking arrangements. The partition in the dining room was also removed during the King occupancy. With the addition of the kitchen wing and an additional chimney, Woodside took on its completed format. However, in the Colquhoun period there were two separate servants' bedrooms in the kitchen wing, and during the King period the partition was removed to create a single room.[25]

Woodside, as it stands today in its reconstructed form, is not identical to the way it was in John King's time. From the measured drawings of the architects, Jenkins and Wright, made before its construction, there are a few changes. One is the height of the roof over the kitchen wing. As it now exists, it has twice the pitch it originally had, for the intention was to create a living area for the caretaker of the estate. In so doing the reconstruction was somewhat distorted. The kitchen wing chimney was not reconstructed and a dormer was added on the northern exposure, where previously there had been only a loft. Another change was the decision not to plaster over the brick in the verandah enclosure and the surrounding area of the west wing, which formed an alcove, to the height of the verandah roof. Structurally, the original house was built of solid brick. The reconstruction is on a wooden frame with brick veneer walls. In the reconstruction, the original brick was utilized, not in common bond, but rather in stretcher bond. Furthermore, the weathered faces of the brick were turned inward and that, with the new shake shingles, gave the reconstructed house an unweathered look. As well, in the initial building process the joints of the brick had been tooled, whereas in the rebuiding phase they were struck.[26]

If one were invited to Woodside while John King lived there, the approach was from Spring Street. The first view of the house would be that of the south elevation, with its three wings merging smoothly into a single unit. The most imposing portion is that of the west wing, with its large gable decorated with bargeboard. The decorative bargeboard is continued across the eaves to end at the farthest point of the smaller gable on the central wing. One cannot help but notice the balance and symmetry of the windows. Across the first floor level there are four long rectangular windows, two in the west wing portion, one under the eaves and one under the gable of the central wing. Nestled in the gables are three smaller windows, two in the west and one in the smaller gable. It is not until one glances down that focus is drawn to a much smaller window, set into the stone foundation at ground level, just to the east of the farthest window of the central wing. Attached to the end of the central wing is the kitchen wing. It is of a much lower elevation, completely unadorned, and has three windows which lack the balance of the rest of the structure. Standing back, the only view of the chimneys is as they extend beyond the pitch of the high roofs.

Moving around the house to the west, one can grasp the original Gothic prototype previously described. Looking at this elevation, one observes the steeply pitched roof, the small gable which encases a window, and directly below it the window with greater depth than the two on either side. These three lower level windows are proportionately placed and the whole structure is decorated with bargeboard across the eaves and gable.

Around the corner, on the northern elevation, is the entrance to Woodside. From this view one is impressed with the starkness of the west wing. Although its large gabled end and eaves are decorated with bargeboard, there are two windows only, both on the second floor. Attached to the vertical west wing is the recessed and longitudinal one of the central wing, with its massive, steeply pitched, shake-shingled roof. Below the jutting and unadorned eaves of this portion of the house is the verandah extending from the kitchen wing to the side of the west wing. The walls under the verandah roof enclosure are plastered white, giving a sense of lightness. The verandah is supported by four, neatly balanced pillars, and shelters the main door, with its sidelight windows, a window just to the west of the door and another window on the east wall of the west wing. Beyond the verandah to the east is the recessed long, low kitchen wing which, from this view, seems almost two-thirds the length of the central and west wings combined. It, too, is unadorned and contains two windows and, at the east end, a door with a small stoop.

Continuing around to the east end of the house, one perceives the most intriguing aspect for this elevation shows more vividly the three distinct units. Proximal to the observer is the lowest level, the end of the kitchen wing, with its low pitched roof, unadorned eaves, single door at the south end and three, small, imbalanced windows running across. Rising above it is the steeply gabled end of the central wing, decorated with bargeboard. There is one single window on the second floor, on the northern side of this central wing. Also on the northerly end of this structure, where the eaves come down to form the verandah roof, is an area of vertically panelled wood extending from ground level to the eaves, and ending where the kitchen wing is adjoined. Distally, the whole view is framed at the top by the massive, sloped roof of the west wing, showing bargeboard on the eaves of the area that extends beyond the verandah. From this view one can see clearly all five chimneys.[27]

At the time it was completed Woodside was approximately 86 by 43 feet and covered 3400 square feet. Set on a stone foundation, it had no basement but did have a root cellar and a cistern which ran from south to north under the end of the central wing and part of the kitchen wing, the source of light coming from the small window at ground level. The cistern serviced one of two pumps in the northwest corner of the kitchen, and formed one wall of the root cellar. The house was heated by several iron stoves, using at least four of the five chimneys. There were no stoves on the second floor in the King period; therefore hot air rose through open floor grates to provide some comfort.[28]

With the exception of the partitions removed during the early King period, the interior floor plans of Woodside remained fairly constant. The main floor plan, as the house was built, contained nine rooms: drawing room, library, dining room, general storeroom, kitchen, pantry, maid's room, laundry, and back kitchen, plus an entrance lobby and a hall.

Looking at the L-shaped plan from the west end of the house, the drawing room is situated in the northwest corner. Two windows face west and there is a chimney in the north wall. Although the Lay (Jennie's married name) plans show no stove in this room, it may have been heated by a fireplace because there was a mantlepiece near the chimney. The east wing of the drawing room is broken by two doorways, one at the northern end to the general storeroom, and the other at the southern end to the hall. Similarly, there is a doorway in the southwest wall leading into the library. The doorways are well balanced, each close to the corners of the room. The general storeroom, about one-third the size of the drawing room, occupies the northeast corner of the west wing. It has one window on its eastern face looking out on the verandah. The library, about the same size as the drawing room, takes up the south portion of the west wing. There are three windows, one on the west wall and two on the south. Between the two windows with southern exposure is a chimney. The library also has three doorways: beyond the drawing room doorway in the northwest corner, one in the northeast corner leads into the hall, and one, on the east wall, into the dining room. These rooms, with about one-third of the hall, complete the west wing of the house.

The hallway begins in the middle of the west wing, two-thirds distant from the west wall and level with the partition to the storeroom. To the north, across from the library door and under the stairs are two closets, one for wood storage, the other for jam and preserves. The hall extends eastward to take up another two-thirds of the northern portion of the central area. At the base of the stairs, which occupy the middle section, is a window looking north onto the verandah. Opposite the stairway is a chimney, and directly across from the window is a doorway to the dining room. At its north end the hallway opens into the entrance lobby. The entrance lobby takes up the remainder of the space at the north end of the central wing. Opening out of it, in the centre, is the main door to Woodside and to the east is the door and stairs leading down to the kitchen. The dining room forms the largest part of the central wing. Originally it had been two rooms, dining room and kitchen; then, after the construction of the kitchen wing, it became a dining room and sewing room. However, during the King's tenure, the partition was removed to extend the size of the dining room. It had access to two chimneys, one was in the hall and the other was on its eastern wall which heated the room by means of a stove. There are two windows on its southern face and, beyond access to the library and hall, is another door in the southeast corner opening into the pantry at a lower level.[29]

The entire kitchen wing is on a lower level than the rest of the house. The main kitchen, in the northwest section, naturally occupies the greatest space. It has two windows on its northern wall, and situated in its northwest corner, a sink and two pumps, one for hard water from the well, the other for soft water from the cistern. Beside the sink are two steps leading to the entrance lobby and adjacent to these are stairs, with bannisters, leading down to the root cellar. Between the stairs and the pantry is a chimney, also utilized for the dining room. In the southeast corner are two large cupboards, built into a recessed wall. A door in the southwest corner leads into the pantry, a small room with one window on its south face. The pantry has one cupboard and shelves built on three sides of the remaining wall space. Beside the cupboard on the west wall are two steps leading up to the dining room. Adjoining the pantry, to the east, is the maid's room. Access to the maid's room is from a door in the southeast corner of the kitchen. This room with two windows on the south wall, had been two separate rooms in the Colquhoun period, allowing for the accommodation of both male and female servants. However, the Kings removed the partition to provide larger quarters for the married couples they hired as servants. The remaining door in the northeast corner of the kitchen leads to the back kitchen. There are two windows on the east wall, with a chimney between them. In the centre of its north wall, is a door opening from a small porch with benches on either side of it, that looked toward the carriage house and barn to the north. The remaining space of the kitchen wing is occupied by the laundry room in the southeast corner, abutting the maid's room to the west. The only access to the laundry room from the rest of the kitchen wing is through a door on the northwest-corner into the back kitchen. The laundry room has a small window and a door to the exterior, both on the east wall.[30]

Examination of the second floor plan of Woodside shows more explicitly the functional use of an original central hall in the west wing, becoming a side hall in the central wing. The only stairwell to the upper level rises in a westerly direction along the north wall of the central wing, extends into the west wing and curves toward the upper central hallway. The stairway and protective railing are completed with four, carved wood newels and banisters with carved balusters. The upper hallway, which runs east and west, divides the west wing in half and has a window at its open western end. Opening off it to the north is the large spare bedroom, with two windows and a chimney between them on the north wall. Situated over the storeroom and the drawing room, this room must have been cold for it had no source of heat. Initially, in the early King period, this room had been used as two separate bedrooms, and then later while one continued to be used as a bedroom the other was converted into a storeroom. But the Kings removed the dividing partition to make it one large spare bedroom, and utilized the space in the loft over the kitchen wing for storage or as a lumber room. Across the hall are two doorways, one leading to the girls' room in the southeast corner, and next to it the boys' room, used by Willie until he went to university. Each of these two rooms has a window facing south to Spring Street, and situated over the library had some source of heat for the chimney rose through the wall separating the two rooms.

The hall extends eastward into the central wing in an L shape around the banistered stairwell. As it enters the central wing there is an opening to a linen cupboard which conceals a chimney. Immediately east of the linen cupboard is the door to the master bedroom, utilized by John and Isabel King; it occupies most of the central wing. In its southeast location, it had one window to the south and a dressing room or large closet opening off its west side, directly behind the linen cupboard. Most likely it was the warmest bedroom for the chimney that serviced both the dining room and kitchen stoves extended through the east wall, with a stovepipe hole in the bedroom. Off the far end of the hall is the small northeast bedroom utilized by Max until he moved into the one vacated by Willie, after which it became the sewing room. It has no source of heat. But the convenient location of its east window required only a slight drop for any agile boy to exit onto the kitchen roof.[31]

Bella and Jennie shared a bedroom. Miss Siebert slept in the spare bedroom unless the Kings had overnight guests. On those occasions, Miss Siebert moved in with the girls. As well, there were several movable cots which allowed for multiple sleeping arrangements, including the use of the sewing room.[32] The upstairs must have been cold in the winter. The measured drawings, as approved by Jennie Lay after the reconstruction of Woodside, depict stoves only in the library, drawing room and back kitchen and a coal range in the main kitchen. However, in his letters Willie told of having to help with the cleaning of the pipes from the hall stove.[33] A stove in the hall would have produced some heat which would rise and perhaps have made the upstairs more comfortable.

It is possible that during the Colquhoun period Woodside was furnished in a more lavish fashion than it was throughout the King occupancy. There is little available documentation about the Colquhoun furniture with the exception of:

> Furnishings for the home included many of the Colquhoun family treasures brought from the Old Country, such as hand-carved mahogany chairs, tables, desks and screens of rosewood and inlay work, carved ivory statuette and many fine paintings.[34]

During the summer months the King family utilized the open verandah as a place to congregate and socialize. The painted wood panelling at the east end afforded some sense of privacy in that it blocked the view of the servants' porch and benches at the end of the kitchen wing. Scattered on the floor were several rugs and bear skins. As many as eight chairs were placed around to seat themselves and their visitors; two tables, one covered with a cloth and decorated with a vase of flowers and the other with potted plants, added to the decor.[35] Presumably, some of this furniture was stored in the winter, perhaps in the general storeroom.

The entrance lobby was strictly utilitarian. The floor was covered with linoleum, probably because it was easier to keep clean. Against the wall, directly opposite the main door, was a table, and to the right of the door, a hatrack. In a like manner, the hall was uncluttered to accommodate the busy traffic. The floor was covered with Brussels carpet and beside the doors to the dining room and to the library, are wall-mounted oil lamp brackets, for oil lamps were used throughout the house to provide light. Recessed into the small alcove between the chimney and the dining room doorway was a small table, and similarly, on the other side of the chimney, a pedestal with a bust of William Lyon Mackenzie. Beside the window and in the corner at the foot of the stairs there was a chair, and hung on the wall behind it were two pictures of Muskoka and a college photograph.

For its size, the drawing room was sparsely furnished by Victorian standards. What seemed to dominate the room was a Chicory piano set at an angle in the southwest corner, in front of the library door. The piano bench was placed so that light from the west window fell directly over the left shoulder of the player. The strategic position of the piano provided any observer with an unobstructed view from as far away as the kitchen. Directly in front of the piano, and at the same angle, was a tea table. Between the two drawing room windows, fitted with dark green blinds and tan curtains, hung a large steel engraving. At either end of the steel engraving, and set out slightly into the room, were pedestals with busts. A table sat at right angles in the northwest corner of the room, and beside it there was a small chair. As previously stated, a mantelpiece occupied the centre of the north wall, but was probably more decorative than functional. The door to the general storeroom was occluded by a larger chair, placed at an angle. The sofa was against the east wall, and over it there was a picture. Another table was placed against the south wall and between it and the door to the library hung a picture of a waterfall. There were no lamp brackets in the drawing room, so presumably there were portable oil lamps on the tables at either end of the room. The floor was covered with Brussels carpet and the centre of the room was free of furniture. There was ample space to allow for additional seating arrangements if needed for larger formal social functions.

The library was the King's favourite room. Although furnished in a functional manner, it must have been rather dark. The floor was covered with a red carpet and the walls were covered with red paper. Although it was the only room with three windows, they were decorated with dark green blinds, madras curtains and blue drapes. Furthermore, Willie had stated that the floor to ceiling bookcase on the west wall blocked off the west window. Light was supplied by the lamp brackets, mounted on the wall at each end of the seven-foot-high bookcase which ran across the north side of the room, and by the lamp which sat on John King's desk placed against the partition to the dining room. Seating was limited. There was a ladder chair against the bookcase close to the drawing room door, a chair at King's desk, and two larger chairs, each placed at an angle in front of the south windows. The stove sat between the two windows and the fuel for it was stored in the wood cupboard under the stairs in the hall.

Like the hall and the drawing room, the floor of the dining room was covered with Brussels carpet. However, it was the only room in the house with a lamp fixture suspended from the ceiling. Directly below it, in the centre of the room, was the dining room table surrounded by chairs. The sideboard sat against the south wall between the two windows. A decorative mantle was placed along the west wall and, in the northwest corner, a large chair. There was a small cupboard in the alcove where the dining room opened into the hall and, across the doorway, a tea wagon. The only picture was that of a ship which hung on the wall beside the tea wagon. A stove, situated on the east side of the room, completed the furnishings.[36]

The activity that took place in the lower level kitchen wing of the house could be blocked off by the doors opening into the dining room from the pantry and into the entrance lobby from the kitchen. In a practical manner the floor of the kitchen and pantry was covered with linoleum. There was ample storage space for china, serving dishes and some staple items in the cupboards and shelves of the pantry. The coal range with its boiler and six lids sat against the south wall of the kitchen, its pipe running across the top of the room to the chimney beside the stairs to the root cellar. Hung on the wall behind and to the side of the range were iron roasting and frying pans, copper and brass kettles and an assortment of granite wear utensils. On the recessed area of the east wall there were two cupboards most likely utilized for crockery and other cooking requirements. As previously stated the sink and two pumps, painted green, were located in the northwest corner of the kitchen. A rectangular table and four kitchen chairs were placed against the wall between the two windows, and another small table stood in the corner beside the doorway to the back kitchen. On the other side of the doorway was the mangle with its three rollers.

The maid's room off the kitchen was sparsely furnished. It contained a bed, with its head placed against the north wall. To its side was a dresser and at its foot, between the two windows, a washstand. The back kitchen contained a stove with its own chimney on the east wall. There was a wood box between the stove and the partition to the laundry room. Two tables were conveniently placed - one in the southwest corner beside the laundry room door, and the other in the corner beside the door to the exterior porch and benches. The laundry room was void of furniture but most likely contained washtubs and washboards.[37]

The stairs and upstairs hallway were carpeted in green and brown Brussels carpet. An oil lamp sat on the hall table opposite the stairwell. At the west end of the hall there was a large wardrobe for the storage of the children's clothing and a blanket box under the window. Bed linen was kept on the shelves in the linen cupboard.

The large spare bedroom contained a double bed, its head resting against the east wall. There was a dressing table between the windows and in front of the chimney abutment. A washstand stood in the northwest corner and a bureau against the south wall. A Wilton carpet completed the decor. The much smaller bedroom shared by Bella and Jennie had only a double bed, a washstand across the room on the west side of the window, a dresser set at an angle in the southeast corner, and a small table against the middle of the east wall. Willie's bedroom next door was exactly the same size. It contained a single bed set squarely into the northeast corner of the room, a dresser in the southeast corner and, between the two, a washstand. A study table was against the west wall, opposite the washstand. The small bedroom assigned to Max had space enough for his single bed and a washstand, placed in the corners of the north wall. By comparison, John and Isabel King's master bedroom was extravagant for it was the only room with any closet space. The head of the double bed rested against the north wall, and between the bed and the doorway there was a table. Towards the south end of the east wall there was a dresser, and across the room, against the partition that divided the closet from the main bedroom, a double washstand. Within the closet or dressing room area, a cupboard extended the length of the east side and a bureau stood in the southwest corner.[38]

Beyond the major pieces of furniture, Woodside was filled with ornamental objects, small pictures, china, silver and books. The general storeroom must have contained the sports equipment used by the King family, such as cricket bats, croquet set, curling stones, fishing poles and footballs. John King's rifles were probably kept in the library. Considering the variety of hobbies the King family engaged in, the house would have been cluttered with newspapers, journals, easels, paints and brushes, leather tooling equipment, sewing accessories, millinery stands and dressmaker's forms, stamp albums, chemistry sets, playing cards and manuscript music.[39]

The house was set in a beautiful environment. Leading up to it was a narrow, winding, cinder-covered road, entering from Spring Street, which in 1893 extended only as far as the eastern boundary of the Woodside estate. The property was heavily treed, including an abundance of conifers to provide greenery throughout the year. The northeast portion was composed of low land and was covered by a cedar swamp which extended almost as far south as Spring Street. A spring flowed across the southeast corner of Woodside, which today forms the roadbed of Spring Valley Road.

The house and its surrounding lawns sat in an open space on the heavily wooded property. The lawns were irregular and rose up towards the house on the north, west and south sides. Shade trees grew within the open spaces of the lawn. Vines covered the house, particularly on the west and north sides, which took away from the starkness of the brick walls, accentuating the bargeboarding with its fleur-de-lis design. Flowers and shrubbery were set in beds on the south and west side, separating the wooded areas from the lawns. Looking from the library and dining room towards Spring Street, one saw the lily pond and the tulip tree that John King planted. From the verandah, the lawn extended back to the outbuildings and a small kitchen garden. That lawn was divided by the cinder road which curved towards the verandah and then north to the outbuildings. There was abundant space on the lawns to play cricket, football and croquet.[40]

On at least two sides, the south and the west, the property was fenced by a horizontal board fence of four rails. The main entrance to the property was more elaborate. Four squared posts, approximately five and a half feet high, supported a white picket fence. Between the two centre posts, an approximate width of twelve feet, double picket gates opened into the roadway to Woodside. With the construction of the railway bridge across Spring Street in the early twentieth century, quite possibly the main entrance to Woodside was moved twenty yards to the east.[41] As well as the entrance from Spring Street, there was a natural cleft through a high elevation of land on the west side of Woodside, slightly north of the west wing. That cleft formed what was called the lovers' walk and it led to the second kitchen garden to the north and the orchard to the south. It continued across Dougall McDougall's property as the children's path to the remnant of a cart road, now an alleyway, leading to Lancaster Street. Separating Woodside from McDougall's property was a stile-like entrance to keep the King animals on their own property. That exit was used by the children en route to the Central School when not driven by Old Bill. The height of land overlooking lovers' walk provided a secluded area of pine orchard, the children's favourite place for camping, reading and studying.[42]

The flower beds edging the lawns on the south and west sides were picturesque in their wild-like setting. Lily-of-the-valley, periwinkle, violets, Virginia creeper and the annuals Willie planted from seed were interspersed with shrubs such as honeysuckle and with ferns. The pond was filled with white water lilies and the tulip tree which grew beside it complimented the verdant lawn on the south side of the house. Late spring gave rise to subtle colours and beautiful aromas as the apple trees, close to the entrance off Spring Street and here and there around the house, the lilac bushes, and the cherry tree by the kitchen door, burst into bloom. Autumn was particularly beautiful, with the vivid colours of the maples, the elms and the old linden trees and the bittersweet which grew wild among the cedars of the north acreage. Although the setting around the house had formal structure it required little attention; most of the estate was left in its natural form.[43]

By comparison, the productive area of the property was small and confined predominantly to the additional strip of land on the western boundary which Colquhoun had purchased. An apple orchard extended from Spring Street as far as the lovers' walk. The kitchen garden lay across the walk to the north and, beyond it, an acre of hay and oats. This small area did not produce enough feed for the animals and the Kings had to purchase more.

Willie enjoyed working on the grounds

around Woodside, independently, assisting the hired man, or being assisted by Max. Mrs. King provided the money to purchase the seeds for flowers and vegetables which Willie ordered from catalogues or bought in town. He planted, tended and weeded the gardens, levelling the manure carried from the barn on the kitchen gardens which produced lettuce, cucumbers, tomatoes, peas, carrots, corn, onions, potatoes and beets. As previously stated, he was allowed to sell the surplus produce, but had to share the profits with his mother who supplied the money for the enterprising gardner. In addition, he helped to pick the apples, cherries and wild berries which were preserved by Mrs. King, the girls and the maid.

Included in Willie's chores were helping the hired man to cut the lawns, milk the cows, feed the animals and chickens, and to store the sleigh and buckboard in the carriage house. The hired man did the harder work around the property, but specific tasks, such as ploughing, were contracted out.[44] When Willie went to university, his jobs were taken over by Max who confessed: "I am sure it will be a failure without old grandpapa's help."[45]

There were few outbuildings at Woodside. The privy was located a short distance from the northeast corner of the kitchen wing, in the middle of the present exit road. Directly north and to the east of it was the well. The carriage house, a panelled wood building with one window and a shingle roof in which the sleigh and double-seated buckboard were stored, was situated north of the kitchen wing. The entrance road, which went past the verandah and curved north towards the carriage house, extended beyond it and curved again to the east to terminate at the barn. The barn was a large building with stalls for the horse and cows and a pen for the pigs. The loft provided storage space for hay and oats. Outside the barn door was the manure pile, and beside the barn, to the east, was a small chicken house. While the Kings were at Woodside, the dilapidated chicken house collapsed, and the chickens were moved to the barn. Like the kitchen wing John King complained about, the outbuildings on the property were deteriorating. In fact, when Mackenzie King visited the property in 1947, he admitted he was not sorry they had disappeared.[46]

The Kings maintained a limited livestock, the number having decreased considerably by 1893 when they left Woodside. Chickens were kept for eggs and meat, but in the last year at Woodside eggs were purchased from the store in Berlin. Pigs were kept and sold for slaughter as the Kings purchased pork and ham, and there may have been a lamb one year at Woodside. At times there were two cows, but one must have been slaughtered for beef. Old Cow Bossie was the one that produced the milk.

The King children loved the animals and took a personal interest in them. Fan, the dog they loved so dearly, was never replaced. But their letters were filled with anecdotes about animals, pleasure of seeing new calves and ponies, and sadness at the death of a neighbour's pony killed by a cow. Old Bill, the white horse, was the family favourite for he was such a character. He had a habit of running away and, on several occasions, managed to upset the family in the sleigh, once while the minister was with them. Another time, he broke away from the buckboard and left the Kings sitting on the road. John King paid the neighbouring boys a quarter to find or catch Old Bill who frequently appeared in Berlin. Old Bill had no fondness for Cow Bossy and had to be separated from her in the barn or else he would kick the stalls apart. The opinion was that Cow Bossy's breath made Old Bill sick. Willie had a particular attachment to the animals at Woodside. When he left, he reminded Max to feed and bed the horse and cow, and to give the chickens water.[47] Bella wrote to offer congratulations on behalf of Old Bill, Cow Bossy and the chickens when Willie was made president of his class at university.[48] Included in Jennie's letter was the regretful news that: "Uncle's old cow has been killed. I know this will interest you for she was an old friend of yours."[49]

The Kings enjoyed the out-of-doors and made the most of the environment Woodside afforded. The grounds to the east side of the house were the least attractive and were used for practical purposes. Besides the privy and the well there was also an ash house, about the size of a large doghouse, situated just beyond the door from the laundry room. As well, there was most likely a clothesline on that side of the house close to the laundry room. But benches, tables and chairs were situated in various places on the lawns to gain the benefit of sunshine or shade. Some sat near the flowerbeds bordering the south lawn, others under solitary trees on the lawns to the north and west, and another close to the carriage house. Those attractive arrangements were utilized by the family for outdoor reading sessions, drawing, painting and singing practice in addition to parties. For very large parties, the Kings set up a removable dance platform on the north lawn.[50]

The whole of Woodside, the house, the furniture, the accessories, the outbuildings and the animals, formed a backdrop for the interaction of the King family. Each part of it contributed in some way to the memories the Kings carried throughout the remainder of their lives.

The Toronto Years: An Edge to Sadness

In 1949 Jennie Lay recalled: "We moved to Woodside in 1886 and to Toronto in 93. Both moves are still clear in my memory, to Woodside in December when it was bitterly cold and to Toronto in July when it was equally hot."[1] The move to Toronto was made in the anticipation of a successful future. John King was to become a lecturer at the Osgoode Hall Law School and expected to become established in a law firm in the city to supplement the meagre earnings attached to the lecturer's position. He left Berlin with some regret and with the high esteem of the inhabitants who presented him with two scrolls.

> One is from St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church where he had served as secretary of the board of management for 20 years. The second, presented by the County of Waterloo, testified to Mr. King's high service as county solicitor for 11 years.[2]

The Kings lived at four different residences throughout their twenty-three years in Toronto. The first at 147 Beverly Street, rented for $360 a quarter, was their home until the turn of the century. Subsequently they moved to 22 Wellington Place, still close to Osgoode Hall. Their third home at 4 Grange Road, near the "Grange" of their friends the Goldwin Smiths, was the one they enjoyed most while in Toronto. Rented for $480 a quarter from Mrs. Goldwin Smith, the Kings remained at that residence for over ten years. Their last Toronto address was 236 Avenue Road, the home rented after John King's retirement and in which he lived for just a few months before his death.[3]

John King fulfilled one of his goals in going to Toronto by teaching at the law school for which he was paid $125 per month. Considering the cost of house rental it was essential that he have some other source of income. To do this, he practiced law from 1893 to 1895 with the firm of M.L. Mercer, L.H. Bradford and F.E. Titus at 32 Church Street. In 1895 he joined the firm of Thomas T. Rolph and Edward Brown where he was expected to pay $20 per month for the use of an office, typewriter and telephone. Later that same year and up to 1897, King attempted an independent practice, but from 1893 to 1902 had arranged to work with a Mr. Eagan. That arrangement terminated when Eagan wanted to raise the rental agreement by $18, an additional financial expense John King could not afford. However, in 1905 King began to practice with Donald L. Sinclair. In the terms of the agreement, Sinclair paid the rent, the cost of advertising and printing and a fee to John King of $25 per month. Sinclair was to be paid for his own and all general business; John King was to get special business only. That partnership dissolved in 1915.[4]

Meeting financial commitments was difficult, for John King had to support Max at university and to maintain a fairly high standard of living for his family. Although he disliked the drudgery and routine of office practice, the use of his name for money was of some merit to the lawyers with whom he was associated. His degrees, his position at the law school and the fact that, as a theorist, his knowledge of the law in libel and slander was unequalled in Canada all added stature to the various law firms involved. John King's law practice was limited to work at assizes. The prospects of such assignments were appreciated, as indicated by Isabel King's comments: "I am glad father got the Stratford assizes. I only hope there will be a good docket for it is so hard for them at home to make all ends meet."[5] King's greatest case, the Frazer case, occurred in 1910 when he acted as council for the defence. King represented Frazer, an old man who had married a young girl, in opposition to relatives who questioned Frazer's competence to manage his affairs. Even though King won the case, Frazer died in the interim and complete payment for it was not made until after King's death.[6]

John King had viewed the appointment of lecturer to the Osgoode Law School as a stepping stone to greater achievement at the University of Toronto and to a judgeship. Though a brilliant man, those rewarding advancements were denied him because of his honesty and, therefore, he was forced to rely on his one teaching post and his writing for the major source of his income. He taught several courses at the law school: evidence, criminal law, construction of statute law, statute law, and Canadian constitutional history and law. In addition, he taught criminal law to all the advanced students.[7] One of his lecture announcements was printed as follows:

THE LAW SCHOOL,

OSGOODE HALL, TORONTO.

IN THE MOOT COURT

SECOND YEAR - EVIDENCE
Lecturer: Mr. King, K.C.
Case for Argument on Friday, 16th October, 1908, at 4:30 p.m.
SECORD v. WEBER.[8]

In his position as professor at the law school, John King was a stern taskmaster, especially with the students in their senior year. One example of that characteristic was borne out in the way he handled a particular situation, as was related in the newspaper.

> Another students' disturbance occurred at the Law School yesterday, and as a result Prof. John King refused to lecture to the third year men and disallowed the attendance of the year. It is said that the present senior year has been noted for demonstrative tendencies. On several previous occasions Prof. King has had to rebuke the senior year for disturbances, and yesterday it appears the unruly element was more than usually predominant. The fact that to-day is a holiday probably had something to do with the outbreak.
>
> Last night the students were in something of a quandry, and whether Mr. King had just disallowed one lecture or had cancelled the whole course no one seemed to know. No person seemed to think, however, that there would be any investigation, but the determined action of Prof. King apparently will be a warning for the future. This is by no means the first time in which trouble has happened in the senior year. While there was no actual hustling yesterday the students made so much noise that it was quite impossible for Prof. King to go on with his work.[9]

Regardless, King was held in high esteem by the students who expressed their admiration in many ways. The King home was open to many of them who were always welcomed and treated like members of the family. Mrs. King, who mothered and entertained them, "was a wonderful woman in the eyes of the students who visited their house."[10] One year, at the closing of King's lectures for the term, the students demonstrated their appreciation of his work by honouring him with speeches and by presenting him with the gift of an engraved, gold-mounted umbrella.[11] At his retirement in 1915, the following remarks were made publicly:

> ...Seven generations of students have passed through his hands. These graduates will learn with regret of the

> retirement of their old professor, to whom they were strongly attached. Mr. King was always very popular in the lecture room and in his professional and personal relations with the students. The presentations to him by the graduating classes during many years past have become one of the traditions of the school, and showed the high regard in which he was held by the student body.[12]

But it was not just the student body King impressed. On his way from Grange Road to Osgoode Hall he made friends with several of the children he encountered. His kindness to them was returned for, in later years, as he became blind the children would take him by the hand and walk with him to Osgoode Hall. As late as 1947 one of them recollected:

> You know, when I was a boy delivering groceries, I had a "grand old pal", who used to put his hand upon my shoulder in a friendly sort of way when he'd spot me in the morning, as he was swinging smartly from his home on Grange Road, with his legal bag over his shoulder. He was on his way to Osgoode Hall, where he was one of the outstanding lecturers of the day on history and law for over twenty-one years. I'll never forget the way he would pat my shoulder and say, "How's my little man today?"
>
> Even as a boy, I could sense that his pleasant, genial manner reflected an abiding faith in his fellow men. And later, as I turned from boy to man, I realized from what my dad told me, and what I learned, that the real measure of his greatness was not of himself, but his lasting contributions to the welfare of his students at Osgoode Hall and his fellow man.
>
> These long continued to operate after he was gone. He knew he was building men and his good influence was profound. This was amply testified to when he resigned, owing to blindness, both his lectureship at Osgoode Hall and high office in the Legislative Assembly. He received the rare honor of being appointed Lecturer Emeritus of the Law School in 1915 from those who had unequalled opportunity of judging and appreciating his integrity, simplicity and learning.
>
> His name? John King, M.A. K.C. - father of the Prime Minister of Canada, and of that father, it can be truly said, in the words of Christopher Wren's epitaph in St. Paul's Cathedral, "If you seek his monument, look about you."[13]

With his position of lecturer at Osgoode Hall and in the university senate, his recognition for his textbook writing and his wide circle of friends, John King had hoped to attain an additional posting as lecturer at the University of Toronto. However, in 1895, while Mackenzie King was still a student at the University of Toronto, the Political Science Club to which he belonged invited A.P. Jury, a trade unionist, and Phillip Thompson, a socialist, to speak on the labour question. The invitation on the part of the students so angered James Mavor, the professor of political economy, that he cancelled the meeting. The students demanded their rights. The editor of Varsity, who supported them, was suspended and a professor of Latin, who in a letter to the *Globe* attacked Mavor's decision, was asked to resign. In response to those actions, the students struck and boycotted Mavor's classes. The students put their trust in a Royal Commission; but it was the university authorities who were exonerated.[14]

Apparently the administrators of the university did not like a student named for William Lyon Mackenzie moving a strike resolution and threatening the establishment of the Toronto elite. It seemed that revenge was to be taken against John King in the belief that he supported the students. Furthermore, as a member of the university senate, John King had frequently taken an independent stand on the issues of faculty appointments, graduate studies, university government and university control against President James Loudon.[15] King applied for the Chair of Constitutional and International Law at the University of Toronto. It was left to Loudon to decide who would fill the position and King was not considered despite his vast knowledge of the subject.[16] A disappointed King wrote to Goldwin Smith and complained about the use of patronage, stating that the Chair had been filled by one "who knew nothing."[17] Willie, hurt because his father's work in law and with the senate at the university was not recognized, wrote that "ingratitude is often hard to comprehend."[18] When later, under similar circumstances, Willie was denied a fellowship at the University of Toronto and planned to go to Harvard he advised his father:

> ...If I ever become an American citizen it will be my University has caused it. I find no pleasure in it and on the other hand Harvard stands for all its life, all that is noble and highest in life...
> ...The University treated me as it treated you.[19]

Twice John King had sought to be elevated to the judicial bench and, even with considerable support, was denied.[20] He knew he had stepped on the toes of men whose influence reached beyond the confines of the university. Too, it was the period of political polarization in Ontario, with the Conservatives gaining strength over the Liberals. The Catholics held the balance of power and their votes were counted with preferential treatment through appointments.[21] As a result, John King realized he would never attain the goal of judgeship and confessed to a friend:

> I care less personally and professionally for the position, than for what it will enable me to do in many ways for my family. My regard and duty for them is the paramount consideration...It seems hard that I should be barred...but I think it is only...(because) I am not an active politician, a conservative and an R.C. I could have no doubt worked up a good practice in Toronto if I had been ready to do things which no honourable professional man should do...we can't afford to retire. We must keep the wolf from the door....[22]

Although John King's pride was hurt, the University of Toronto could not ignore his contributions to law and he was made Chairman of the Board of Legal Studies while Osgoode Hall made him an examiner at the law school. But John King attempted to obtain a vacant chair at Harvard Law School, for he was well known as a legal academic and theorist in American and Canadian law. King, however, was informed that the position had been filled from within Harvard University.[23] With that rejection, it seemed John King abandoned thoughts of university postings.

By 1902 John King was no longer able to balance his budget. As previously stated, the salary he received from the Law School amounted to $125 per month, but his debts were $108 which left the family $17 per month on which to live. The furniture and collection of oil paintings were mortgaged, judgements fell due, and the past due coal bill was unpaid let alone the current one. He had to renew drafts to cover past due rent for office space owed to Eagan and for his household, and he borrowed money from his life insurance to meet the expenses for the insurance on household furniture, dues to the Law Society and to the Ancient Order of United Workmen, pew rent and doctor's fees. As well, John King began to borrow from Willie.[24]

The poor economic situation persisted for several years. King's partnership with Sinclair was a slightly more satisfactory arrangement. Although it was little more than a nominal affair, it at least provided him with $25 a month, free office accommodation and the use of the firm's name.[25] As well, he earned some money for his writing. He received $1000 from the American Book Company for his article on libel in the Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure, used at both the University of Toronto and Osgoode Hall, and for his contribution to various newspapers.[26] In Willie's opinion, the debt could be alleviated if he father "devoted say one or two newspaper articles each month to this purpose it would in the end prove a greater satisfaction."[27]

But Willie set about to help his father. He sent money home on a regular basis, assisted with the monthly accounts, removed the chattel mortgage and paid off the money borrowed on the insurance. To maintain his pride and some feeling of independence, John King assigned his judgement fees to Willie in advance and gave Willie security under his life insurance. Although Willie consolidated his father's debts, as late as 1914 he advised that only careful management could clear the slate that year.[28]

Early on Willie recognized the direction in which his family was headed, for a diary entry in 1900 read:

> There is a great need for vigorous effort

W.L. Mackenzie King *(left)* with his brother Mcdougall and his father, John King, August 8, 1899. (Public Archives Canada, C-55520)

> at home, and on my return I must seek to build things up. Getting into debt has been the one great cloud over our family happiness.[29]

One of the contributing factors to the distressing situation was Isabel King's extravagant nature. Willie tended to indulge rather than reprimand his mother, frequently providing her with the means to obtain what she wanted. She loved clothes, especially hats trimmed with feathers and velvet, and was constantly looking for bargains. In her letters to Willie she complained about the lack of money, but, on the other hand, spoke of attending concerts and purchasing dishes instead of shoes and other necessities. She asked for money for teeth and implied that all of her friends were getting gold ones. She was shocked when the rent was raised, but would turn around and hire a new servant. She would wait for John King's cheque to arrive and then go off on a trip.[30] Typical of that self-indulgent whim was the following excerpt from a letter to Willie.

> I see by Murray's ad today that they are going to sell the dresses I have had my eye on for some time past at a reduced rate. Possibly tomorrow I will be the possessor of one of them.[31]

Isabel King was fully aware of the poor financial situation the family faced, but persisted in pursuing the standards to which she had become accustomed. In response to Willie's offer of help she had written a note of thanks for it "with the earnest prayer that we may be able to pay it back though the chance at present looks as black as coal."[32] The efforts she expended to balance the accounts were to limit the spending at Christmas over several years. Beyond asking Willie for money for herself, she turned to him to help her with running the household. Out of necessity, she juggled the accounts, such as paying the servants out of the money for gas and then having insufficient funds for the gas bill. Yet, in 1906 when Isabel King was ill, Jennie took over the household accounts and managed to budget them.[33]

Despite economic problems, the Kings did considerable entertaining even though Isabel complained about "constantly people coming for a little while and we like to have them but that costs no matter how careful we are."[34] The events planned were not in the grand manner of those held in Berlin, but were more costly. Fifty-seven people (of whom twenty were unable to attend) were invited to an "At Home" in 1905. Their guest lists included the McMurrichs, Michies, Falconbridges, Mulocks, the Honourable George Ross, Judge Moss and an assortment of well-established entrepreneurs and legal and governmental personages. The Kings attended At Homes, supper parties, High Teas and answered calling cards, all of which required reciprocal action.[35] Occasionally the Kings entertained guests at supper parties and then took them to Massey Hall, but Isabel complained that the number of visitors they had prevented them from taking in many concerts.[36] The Kings were guests at the Gzowski-Lindsey, the Hyde-Wookey and the Wilson-Bliss weddings. Besides, there was Jennie's wedding to arrange and it involved a guest list of many important people.[37]

The distance to Berlin prevented close interaction with several former friends. But, towards the end of the century, some members of the Colquhoun family moved to Toronto and they and the Kings visited, recalling memories of Woodside and common friends and discussing the progress and activities of their children. The Kings's closest friends in Toronto were the McMurrichs, the Falconbridges, the Thompsons of Rosedale, the Mulocks with whom they frequently spent Christmas, and the Goldwin Smiths. Goldwin Smith had a great effect on Willie's concept of what Canada should be. But associations with that calibre of person was expensive for it involved the cost of modish clothing, of supplying food for entertaining, and for attendance at the opera, concerts at Association Hall and Massey Hall, and Varsity performances.[38]

Compared to the period in Berlin, travel and holidays were curtailed. Generally, Isabel and John King spent summer vacations with friends at Lake Joseph. One of their biggest trips occurred in 1904 when they visited Willie at Kingsmere. Planning for it was difficult and it looked as though it might not come about. At that time they were faced with finding enough money to pay for the gas bill, to send Bella to Muskoka and to buy a dress for Jennie to attend a wedding. But with John

King's cheque arriving on time, by cancelling a side trip to Kingston to see friends, and by obtaining a free pass and receiving a loan from Willie, they were able to go. Their luggage included one large trunk; a small trunk; Mrs. King's basket, boots and parasol; Mr. King's telescope, manuscript on libel, silk hat box, and a bundle with his nightshirt; a box of vegetables; a box with a bridesmaid's hat; a clock; raincoats and umbrellas; different parcels; a little valise; and one hand satchel. Despite the effort involved, it was a trip that John and Isabel King enjoyed immensely.[39] In 1906, when John King was ailing, Willie took him on a trip to Great Britain, about which Max commented: "What a treat Willie must have just watching the pleasure on Father's face. Poor old boy, it will set him up for years."[40]

Restricted finances in no way precluded the employment of servants. But, as had been the situation at Woodside, not many proved suitable, for there was constant hiring and firing. Those who fitted in were treated as members of the family; one called Jane was permitted to keep a cat and to share in reading the family letters.[41] More typical was Isabel King's comment:

> I had my siesta this afternoon.
> ...I dismissed that creature so called servant and even then felt I had been rash for she could assist to some extent in the culinary department, but she has gone I trust never to return.[42]

Another deterioration after the King's moved from Woodside occurred in what formerly had been a close relationship with relatives. Isabel King's sister Helen, of whom there is little known, died in 1878; the others, Elizabeth died in 1901 and Janet, Mrs. Charles Lindsay, in 1906.[43] In the last years of their lives both Elizabeth and Janet quarreled with Isabel. Although in Bella's opinion, "if some of the relatives had a little more of mother's forgiving spirit there would be less contention in the Lindsay hemisphere,"[44] the argument between Isabel and her sister Janet stemmed from who had ownership rights to the Mackenzie plot. The conflict with the Lindsays was not resolved and lasted long after Isabel's death, when it was taken up by Jennie and Willie.[45] In the manner of her father's unforgiving nature, Isabel remained detached from Elizabeth after a rift because of some unmentioned matter. And when Elizabeth, the Libbie who was so kindly thought of and so welcomed at Woodside, lay dying in poverty at the Y.W.C.A. in Chicago, Isabel King refused appeals from her to visit or to provide aid.[46]

On the King side, Dougall McDougall had taken care of John King's mother, Christina, their sister, Flora, and a niece. Perhaps in the belief that John King was well established, at his death McDougall had left his estate to Flora. As a result, Mrs. King Senior, who had stayed with the Kings in Toronto on a temporary basis, moved in with them permanently. The arrangement proved satisfactory, for Mrs. King and Isabel got on well together, and the children and Isabel took her on trips in the city to visit her friends. Meanwhile, Flora had bequeathed her property to her niece who subsequently married. After having resided with her married niece for a year, Flora had a stroke and changed her will to provide $200 per year to her sister, Mrs. King. However, following Flora's death, the codicil to the will was set aside by means of court action. Therefore, John King was left with the full responsibility of caring for his mother until her death in 1900.[47]

According to Jennie, after moving from Berlin, there "came twenty four years when all of us were associated very intimately with all the branches of the church and life."[48] Attachment to the church remained a salient element in King family life. All attended church and prayer meetings regularly. John King was made an elder in 1905 and was a member of the Kirk session and of the Men's Club at St. Andrew's Church in Toronto. Isabel King was on the Visiting Committee and taught sewing in the Sunday school. Bella and Jennie were involved with Sunday school teaching, with the Girls Own Club and helped their mother with charitable work.[49]

Bella's newspaper clipping files indicated a sensitive girl with a wide variety of interests. They reflected a keen interest in religion, particularly in Christian Endeavour which was a way of life in the King household, and in charitable work with several articles pertaining to orphanages, the Red Cross, and missionary work in India and China. Included as well were clippings dealing with literature, poetry and letter writing, most likely because of John King's stimulation, and of folksongs, handicrafts and children's fables. On a more personal level she collected information on fashions in clothing, skin care, and duties of a wife in the home. Latterly, she kept a file on the expressions of dying men and women,[50] including a copy of a letter found in the desk of Charles Dickens at his death. Labelled "The Children," part of it read:

> I shall miss the low hum of their voices
> And the tramp of their delicate feet
> When the lessons and tasks are all ended
> And death says the school is dismissed.[51]

Having two dependent daughters at home was a financial burden and neither girl showed much inclination to marriage. The family was delighted when Bella had a beau and Isabel King, away at Kingsmere at the time, wrote:

> Now if you Bella can only secure the Parson Billie says he will do his best to help with all necessary fixings such as trousseau, etc. I am glad he the Parson has taken to reading aloud, there is nothing like cultivating the brain and heart together.[52]

But the match failed and the Kings seemed to resign themselves to having at least one spinster daughter. Willie, on the other hand, seemed eager to promote some type of arrangement for which he received a reprimand from his mother:

> When you were dining out with your friend at Sir Frederick's, did you say in a careless off hand way, 'Do you know Jim Sutherland I have a Dad you could help in a material way and it would lift a big load off me thinking of that little mother of mine, and if you are contemplating matrimony I have two sisters just ready to be picked up.'?[53]

In 1898 Bella had contemplated a career in nursing. She first thought of entering a school of nursing in Toronto, but then decided upon a hospital in Boston run by an order of Episcopal nuns. When Willie, who was at Harvard at the time, heard of Bella's plans he seemed somewhat wary. He warned her that she would be away from home for three years during which she would receive no pay. Although he commended the work of the profession, particularly if it was chosen with the high motives Bella had in mind, he advised her "it is a mistake to believe that it is the only work."[54] However, Bella went to the nursing school in Boston and within two months was unhappy with her decision. Isabel complained to Willie that Bella was required to empty at least fifty dirty bedpans per day and that she was lonely among a group of unrefined nurses who lacked Bella's intellectual background. Furthermore, without any income, Bella was expected to provide for her own necessities.[55]

Before completing six months of training, Bella realized she could not continue in nursing and wished to terminate. Because of the burden of debt at home, Bella's decision created turmoil among the members of the King family. After having received a disturbing letter from his father about the effects of Bella's decision, Willie wrote in his diary:

> ...mother and Jennie think I have been unsettling Bella's views and that they will write her to stay - it has led to much unpleasantness between father and mother....I do not know of what will become of our family. Mother is terribly nervous and gets things so exaggerated. Bella is the same and all are wanting in discretion and judgement. The debt has been a terrible trial and has cast a cloud over all happiness. Aunt Libbie has been a terrible curse. Mother's life all worry and pain and father's filled with disappointment.[56]

Certainly Willie had been concerned with Bella's development. In his opinion, Bella, in her loneliness and unhappiness, had read nothing and had seen nothing and, therefore, her mind was not being broadened.[57] He supported her in her decision to quit nursing, believing that what she needed was to return home and to spend at least two hours per day reading, under John King's supervision. When Bella left Boston, Willie suggested: "Now that Bella returns with a new outlook and ambition let us do what we can each and all to make our home what it should be, one of the best homes in Canada and one of the Library Homes."[58]

Bella expended a conscious effort to

improve her mind through reading.[59] In 1903 she attended the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph, but there is little recorded evidence of her accomplishments there. However, one year later, she was enrolled with the Toronto Technical School where she stood first in her class. The courses were directed towards household economics and the home nursery and covered a variety of topics such as laundry methods, serving and setting table, preparation of food and drink, the use of electricity, methods used for heating and plumbing, the maintenance of good health and home remedies. She was required to maintain a sewing dictionary and hers provided beautiful samples of stitchery, patching, darning, sleevlet gathering, hooks and eyes, and embroidery for damask towels.[60] When the course was completed Isabel made an arrangement with Bella. She was to be provided with a sewing machine and an allowance if she stayed home, for Isabel King admitted that the house would lose much comfort if Bella went out to work.[61]

Bella had considered other options, among them the possibility of gaining a Teacher Certificate at the Normal School and of going to university. However, she relinquished those ideas and, instead, took up singing.[62] For a decade she utilized her talents to the best of her ability. She applied what she had learned to her home, in the community and to the service of her church. Of particular interest to her was the Girls' Own Club which involved itself with working women in the city. Bella, as founder of the group, gave several addresses on such topics as: Steadfastness; Everyday Mercy; Prayer and its Answers; Miss Havergal; and The Two Lists.[63] However, it was not until the last two years of her life that she obtained salaried employment outside the home, as a clerk at the Bank of Commerce for $500 per annum.[64]

As early as 1903 the family realized that Bella's health was poor, and Max paid her $10 per month to go to bed before ten at night. In the early months of 1915 she had what was believed to be a heart attack and died suddenly in April.[65] The obituary in the *Toronto Star* provided a fitting summary to her life.

> Miss King was widely known in this city in connection with her varied work in St. Andrew's Church, King street west, and especially with the work in the institute, which is an important association of that religious community. She was a teacher there for over twenty years, and was one of the founders and head workers of the Institute Girls' Club which has had a wide influence for good among the young women of the city. In not a few humble homes in Toronto Miss King's bright and cheery visitations, her helpful hand, and her words of womanly sympathy will be greatly missed. She was a friend of the poor and needy, and a true sympathizer with those in distress and misfortune. Apart from her active Christian work, her quick intelligence, and her refined nature and tastes made her a welcome addition to every social circle. The manner of her passing away was such as she herself would have desired, and was the happy close of a good life, which will always be held in loving remembrance by her friends, and by all who had the privilege of knowing her.[66]

Jennie, like Bella, had to contend with similar family issues, but her exuberant nature allowed her to adapt more readily to the circumstances at hand. As the prettier of the two girls, Jennie seemed more light-hearted. She loved to dance and, with her wide circle of friends, enjoyed bicycle parties and holidays at DeGrasse Point or at Lefroy. Much of the entertainment she engaged in was centered around her association with the young peoples society at the church. Her clipping files depicted an interest in church affairs and clubs, Sunday school, poetry and collecting autographs.[67] Jennie, assisted by Bella, utilized the calisthenics she had been taught by Captain Clark while they lived at Woodside. She organized three classes at the institute in it - one for young girls, one for boys and the other for factory and shop women.[68] In addition, Jennie paid for singing lessons and subsequently went from pupil to singing teacher at the same school, for which she received some remuneration.[69]

By 1899 Jennie had gained some independence. She became a companion to Mrs. Mulock and in that capacity was taken to plays and on outings. Too, she was expected to act as co-hostess at some of the Mulock social functions, wherein she met Lady Laurier, Lady Thompson and some of her father's associates and friends. During the summer months, she accompanied the Mulocks who chartered a special car on the radial (the electric car line) to go to their farm in Newmarket. While in Newmarket, Jennie went to parties at the home of Jaffrey Robertson, her father's friend from university.[70]

Although lacking Bella's serious motivation, Jennie sought a more self-satisfying career. The family, however, seemed to discourage her aspirations. Her parents did not allow her to take the offered position of society columnist with a Toronto newspaper. When she considered application as a nurse-in-training at an American hospital or as a companion in the Boston or Cambridge area, Willie seemed to lack interest in promoting these ventures.[71] When she contemplated sitting the university entrance exams, Max dissuaded her. In his opinion, a university education would not fit her for remunerative work; nor did he believe it was necessary for her to have a B.A. to get a position in a ladies' school. Regardless of the negative views held by Max and Willie about their sisters' need for advanced education, Jennie and Bella attended many of the open lectures at the university.[72]

In 1906 Jennie accepted Harry Lay's second proposal of marriage. Harry Lay had fallen in love with Jennie when they both lived in Berlin, but Jennie had refused his offer of marriage. He later married a Miss Cameron who was fully cognizant of his feelings towards Jennie. After his wife died he turned again to Jennie, and she accepted him and his little son. Although Willie opposed the marriage he loaned the money for the wedding; and Bella, saddened at the departure of her sister, was forced to admit it would reduce the expenses at home.[73]

Max had completed high school education in the city and then entered medical school at the University of Toronto. He had to work hard to earn money for his education and was helped by Willie whom he idealized. Although John King could not provide much by way of finances, Max and his father had a good relationship, from the simplicity of walking and talking together, visiting the Toronto Islands, to sharing the more extravagant function of attending operas and concerts. During his undergraduate years, he was put in charge of a smallpox hospital at Nairn Centre, five miles north of Sudbury, and from it travelled out to do vaccinations in a large area of northern Ontario. His academic career was interrupted when he served with the Royal Army Medical Corps in South Africa during the Boer War.[74]

After the war, Max completed his M.D. degree and went to work in a hospital in Huntsville in 1902. But he quickly became disillusioned when he discovered that not all men held the high ideals and standards of his father. He complained to Willie:

> I got pretty sick of the small doings of old man ____. He makes the practice of medicine too much of a shark game to get money and asked me to enter into so many little swindle games that I got heartily sick of him.[75]

However, he had earned sufficient money and was able to make a loan to John King. In 1904, with financial help from Willie, Max set up a practice in Ottawa. There was a squabble between the brothers about the amount of money that was involved in the arrangement, and the mature Max, unlike the other King siblings, stood his ground against Willie, informing him that "you have been most lamentably misled and mistaken in some of your ideas as well as most inconsistent in others."[76]

Nonetheless the brothers got on well together in Ottawa and, for a time before his marriage in 1911, Max lived with Willie. Max married May Wookey, a childhood sweetheart and daughter of the Reverend Charles Wookey, a King family friend. But, in 1913, Max contracted tuberculosis and was sent to the St. Agathe Sanitorium, where he began his writing, and then to Denver, Colorado. The source of his contact was uncertain; May, his wife, had had quiescent tuberculosis since 1906. Furthermore, Max's resistance to the disease might have been lowered because of a severe bout of enteric fever during the Boer War. Regardless, the partnership established at Woodside was fulfilled and Willie supported Max in his illness from 1918 until he died in 1922.[77]

Isabel King was returning to the city that had rebuked her father and in which she had been attacked by a mob as a child, but secure in her position as John King's wife. In all likelihood her expectations in moving to Toronto equalled those of her husband. His failure to achieve those expectations must have disturbed her immensely, for she had come from poverty and it looked as though she might return to it. She engrossed herself with the work of the church she attended regularly and her religious belief provided her with the support she needed.

> We had a lovely sermon from Principal Grant, so encouraging they gave one heart to go on with the battles of life which some times seem too much of a struggle.[78]

In addition, she joined the St. Andrew's Society and the Liberal Society[79] which provided her with some social stature.

Regardless of the disappointments and hardships Isabel King faced, she continued to maintain her home in the style of the more prosperous Woodside years; and she never lost her affection for her husband.[80] But as John King's economic position deteriorated, Isabel's attachment to her sons progressively strengthened. At the time that John King realized future advancement was blocked for him, Isabel looked for promise in Willie.

> ...if you go on improving and elevating your character in the future as you have done in the past the pride that only a mother can feel will be fully realized.[81]

When both sons were successfully established in Ottawa, she reflected upon their development from the Woodside beginnings.

> I cannot tell you how proud and thankful I am to know that two young men in the sanctuary of friendship should have had such ideals and expressed them to each other. Surely the outcome of a younger life filled with such earnest convictions must mean much for the future.[82]

In a somewhat pompous manner, Willie, as a young man, had criticized his mother for not reading enough. It seemed she took the criticism seriously and followed through with his advice. Willie was pleased, for in his view her reading habits produced interesting and more intellectual letters,[83] and a bond was created between the two. Her personal collection of books began in that period and included the works of Thackery, of the great artists, and the lives of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Gladstone.[84] She sent Willie several photographs of herself[85] and her letters to him were filled with the joy of having her portrait painted. In addition to the three-quarter length one done by the famous artist J.W.L. Forester, Isabel had another done in three styles. They included one in a black silk evening dress trimmed with lace, with pearls; another for a bust portrait in a black silk reception dress with a chiffon cape collar; and the third in a green velvet walking costume with a Gainsborough hat in hand.[86]

As Willie took over the financial burden of his parents, the relationship between mother and son grew and the image of his father eclipsed for several decades. John King, physically disabled with failing sight, was described by Willie as having little endurance while that of his mother was endless. He believed his father spent too much time writing, something that he himself had encouraged, and not enough time working and, as a result, his mother was suffering. In his words: "Father has much the same gentleness in disposition, but is easy going and procrastinating, while mother is all will and energy."[87] How much Isabel King influenced Willie in his evaluation of his father's worth in the latter days is open to question. It seemed that Isabel King began to emphasize more strongly to Willie that he was William Lyon Mackenzie's grandson, not John King's son: "I so often say my father, my my my is to distinguish him from your father do you comprehend?"[88] She perceived success in the son who bore her father's name, and when he was defeated in the 1911 election at Berlin she told him: "Like your grandfather you will find out what ingratitude is."[89] Willie took his invalid mother to Kingsmere to live with him after John King's death. She died while Willie was fighting an election in Newmarket, and, in her last conversation with him, she told him she was pleased he was speaking for William Lyon Mackenzie.[90]

John King's last few years were filled with sadness. Bella's death and Max's illness weighed heavily upon him. During his lifetime he had not been recompensed for the Frazer case, his greatest court case, nor did there appear to be completion of a transaction for either John or Max King on a military land grant of 160 acres for service rendered.[91] John King had been struck by a street car on College Street and the accident left him with progressive blindness which was not alleviated by surgery. To compensate for his failing vision, he had his lecture notes typed in large print. Finally he memorized them so that he could continue to lecture. Although the neighbouring children led him to Osgoode Hall, his vision deteriorated to the point where a boy was secured to take him from his home to Osgoode Hall and back again.[92] His name was no longer of value to his law partner and as a consequence the partnership was dissolved.[93] By 1915 the future looked grim. Willie hired a servant to care for his parents because his mother was weak and his father totally sightless. John King had been required to make a yearly application for his teaching post at Osgoode Law School. But, fearful that he would not be reappointed, his also applied for the lesser post of librarian to avoid the real possibility of starvation.[94]

With great persuasiveness, Willie was able to obtain a pension for his father from the Carnegie Foundation in the United States. The pension was awarded on the basis of John King's contribution to the legal profession and to theoretical law. In addition, Willie was able to secure another for him from the Law Society. Both pensions continued to be paid to Mrs. King following her husband's death.[95] Beyond the benefits of some monetary comforts in his last year, John King had a moment of great satisfaction. In recognition for his work he was made Emeritus Lecturer by the Law Society of Upper Canada at Osgoode Hall and was presented with an illuminated addess on his retirement on November 25, 1915. The newspapers recaptured the brilliance and contributions of an aging scholar shortly before his death.[96]

For the Kings, the Toronto years were an edge to sadness, with fond hopes and expectations shattered. By comparson the difficulties the family faced tended to heighten the idyllic experience of the Woodside period. For those who survived, Woodside became the magic place, for memories of it were unblemished.

The future prime minister of Canada had been profoundly affected by his past. The idyllic setting of his formative years at Woodside with his family, pride in his relationship to William Lyon Mackenzie who sought to effect social change by force, but most saliently the continued interest, interaction and influence of his father whose personal philosophy was based on the early social gospel contributed to the moulding of Willie's character. Steeped in a background of history, law and religion, Willie achieved the success denied both his father and his grandfather.

Considering the mediocre performance of his collegiate years, by comparison Willie's university career which began in 1891 in Toronto was spectacular. Nonetheless, he did continue to show some of his previously displayed mischievous nature. At a convocation he joined the students who broke the chairs by standing on them, then marched with a group to Bishop Strachan School to serenade the girls and, in the process, helped to break the fence around the Normal School under the watchful eyes of a police escort.[1] But, sent off to university with a letter of introduction to Sir Daniel Wilson, Willie worked long hard hours. Afraid that he would not achieve an honours standing, he asked his father's permission to change courses and to drop to pass work. However, he persevered and did well in history, German, Italian, French, Latin, English, political science and economics. Initially he planned to go into law, but in his last year decided to follow a course in political economy. He trained his memory, improved his oratorical and debating skills and, in 1893, won the Blake Prize for his work on "Anglo-Saxon Government in England." Although Professors Mavor and McEvoy had taken a keen interest in his development at the university, he constantly sought advice and support from home, particularly from his father.[2]

Willie needed to be recognized and liked. He boasted of his father's accomplishments and took pride in visiting William Lyon Mackenzie's grave with a group of his university friends. Too, he joined the Literary and Scientific Society of which his father had been a member. It was with considerable self-satisfaction that he was made president of his class, an honour that earned him the congratulations of his family.[3]

As previously stated, Willie first lived in a boardinghouse in Toronto while attending university and where his father stayed with him on occasion while doing research. However, in 1893, shortly before his parents moved to Toronto, Willie went into residence to be closer to the centre of activity. He participated in running, football and cricket, as he had done at Woodside.[4] Willie maintained close contact with his Berlin friends, Albert Breithaupt and Shannon Bowlby. He played sports with Bowlby and went to church, Christian Endeavour and the Y.M.C.A. with Breithaupt who tutored Willie in German. As best man at the Breithaupt wedding, Willie presented the couple with a gift of a statue entitled "Blind Justice," and honoured the birth of their first son with a baptismal gift. In addition, he made many new friends at the university, among them graduates from Harvard and Yale who stimulated his interest in joining what he called a "secret society." His social interaction was broadened through membership in the Glee Club and by attending dances at the Yacht Club.

One close association that Willie began at the University of Toronto was with Henry Harper who was responsible for Willie's nickname "Rex." The two friends went on holidays together, visiting the Muskoka cottages of the Douglas's and W.D. Macdonald. Later, when Willie was established in the government, Harper worked with him, but Harper met with an untimely death at Ottawa, attempting to rescue a drowning girl who had gone through the ice while skating. In honour of Harper, who was like a brother to him, Willie wrote a book, *The Secret of Heroism*, relying on John King's criticism of it before publication. Too, he was influential in obtaining a wing dedicated in Harper's name at the Royal Victoria Hospital in Barrie and a memorial at the University of Toronto. On the other hand, one university associate plagued Willie throughout his political life. Arthur Meighen had been a keen opponent in debating matches and Willie, with the Mackenzie traits of vindictiveness

A.L. Breithaupt *(left)* and W.L. Mackenzie King, ca. 1891.
(Private collection of F.A. Breithaupt, Kitchener, Ontario)

Left to right, S. Bowlby, A.L. Breithaupt and W.L. Mackenzie King at university.
(Private collection of F.A. Breithaupt, Kitchener, Ontario)

and competitiveness, never forgot the defeats.[5]

Willie carried John King's concept of the social gospel with him when he left Woodside. He attended many churches in Toronto and, beyond his membership in the Y.M.C.A., formed a Newsboys' Club. Once the Kings moved to Toronto, the club often met in their home where John King's earlier interest in newsboys was renewed. With a diversity of interests, Willie had difficulty in determining the direction of his career, undecided whether social work or the ministry was his calling.[6]

The religion Willie had been taught in John King's household remained with him and often served to resolve his troubled mind. As a student, he deducted, "there has been a peace in my soul at many times today such as I have not known for a long while - religion is the essence of life."[7] As an adult having attained success, he wrote: "Next to the sacred institutions of home, the most sacred associations in the lives of men - to some perhaps more sacred than those of the home itself - are the association of the church."[8]

Those conclusions were born of personal experience for, as an undergraduate, Willie had applied the social gospel in a practical way. He loved children dearly, looking upon them as younger brothers and sisters as at Woodside, and spent his Sundays teaching Sunday school on a ward at the Hospital for Sick Children. The interaction which occurred with the patients impressed Willie.

> I had a service in my ward with the little ones and then had a long talk with Irene Shields. She is certainly a dear girl and I truly love her. I believe she is a good Christian and what she told me has been of great encouragement to me - she says that she was first taught to love God by the way in which I read "Blessed Assurance".[9]

He was disturbed at having to witness their suffering and, in some cases, their dying, but was overwhelmed by their acceptance of it: "I read to the children for a short time then Irene Shields told me that the doctor says she will only live two weeks more at the least but she will be pleased to die."[10] Willie wrote to his parents describing the bravery of the children he encountered.[11] In his diary, he frequently made mention of their exemplary faith with statements such as: "Nor will I forget one dear little blind girl singing 'Come to the light, once I was blind'."[12]

Willie's commitment at the Hospital for Sick Children was endorsed by the family at Woodside. Bella, particularly, looked to the day when she might be able to do some similar good work to gladden the hearts of "the little sufferers."[13] Most likely, Bella was motivated towards a career in nursing because of Willie's experience. She engaged her mission band to send papers to Willie's pupils, and she and Jennie made taffy as a treat for them. In 1896 Max, aided by John King, absorbed into his schedule the work Willie vacated at the hospital.[14]

While Willie was engaged in the work of the settlement house in Britain in 1900, there was further evidence of his love of children. Reminiscent of the Woodside era, Willie played Santa Claus at a party for poor children staged by a working girls club, similar to that founded at St. Andrew's Church in Toronto by Bella and Jennie. He described the event to the family at home.

> ...The little ones were half frightened and half delighted, and some of them when they got their present kissed the masked face with great reverence, I still remember when I was as fearful as the most credulous of any of them. It was a most enjoyable little party and all the more lovely in that it was a party given (by) the working girls club to the poor children of the neighbourhood.[15]

It seems that Willie's participation in the students' strike at the University of Toronto had far-reaching effects on his own life, let alone on the career of John King. Although Willie had won a Blake Scholarship, he would never be granted a fellowship at the University of Toronto and, therefore, was forced to continue his education in the United States, first at Chicago and then at Harvard.

As early as 1893 Willie began part-time work with the *Globe* and then later with the *Mail*, the *Empire* and the *News*. He continued to write for those papers throughout the remainder of his academic career in Toronto and while at university in Chicago and at Harvard. While reporting for the newspapers, he became acutely aware of social problems, gaining first-hand knowledge by speaking with the working men involved in them. Between 1893 and 1895, in Toronto, he met Kelso Roberts who was concerned with the plight of neglected and abused children, visited the "Haven" where he discussed the problems of women in trouble, and frequented the police courts to learn about criminal offenders. He befriended Inspector Stephens of the Toronto Police Force, and walked with him at Queen and Nelson streets where he was exposed to the substandard living conditions of the city's poor. Too, he was introduced to Miss Jane Addams, renowned for her work with Settlement Houses in Chicago, and because of the interest he demonstrated was asked by a Miss George to form a Social Service Club in Toronto.[16] Also in that period, based on his observations, Willie wrote an article with considerable objective analysis about the Jewish population of the city. In it, he examined and discussed their problems, social position, family life and religion.[17]

Denied a fellowship at the University of Toronto, Willie chose to go to Chicago. In the year preceding his term at Chicago and in the summer afterwards, he articled with his father as a law student. In addition, John King succeeded in obtaining a job for him, tutoring the son of Judge Street in Lindsey in preparation for the army examinations. Too, John King had attempted to secure a position for him in the government with George Ross, but there was no work available.[18]

John King believed Willie was deserving of the fellowship at the University of Toronto and approached his friends, urging them to use their influence in recommending it. He gained the support of W. Mulock and G. Ross but it was to no avail.[19] J.W. Wilson of the *Globe* held Willie in high esteem and in his evaluation of him to George Ross included the following statement:

> Probably you will allow me to say that he has in my judgement the best economic mind for one of his age that I have ever met.[20]

From 1895 to 1897, before, during and after Willie's time in Chicago, persistent attempts were made on his behalf for the Toronto fellowship. Even though Willie had won a scholarship at Chicago, John King was disappointed that Willie's ability had not been recognized at home and wrote of the unfairness the university demonstrated in its choice of candidate over that of his son.[21] After the students' strike, Professor Mavor, who had encouraged Willie at the beginning of his academic career, did not want him in the postgraduate department, regardless of his ability.[22]

Willie's diary revealed that refused by Toronto, he did not really want to go to Chicago.[23] Nevertheless, the experience he gained and the lifestyle he was exposed to in Chicago had a profound effect upon him. While there he stayed at Hull House, the University Settlement, and had to travel seven miles by train and foot to the university. En route he observed the poverty, the overcrowded tenements, the saloons, the ethnic ghettos and the sweat shops. More pertinently he was re-introduced to Jane Addams who had impressed him deeply when he met her in Toronto, in 1895, at the St. Andrew's Institute and drove with her to the Broadway Tabernacle. At that time, having listened to her address, "The Settlement Idea," with his parents, Willie had written:

> I love Toynbee and I love Miss Addams. I love the work in which the one was and the other is and which I hope soon to be engaged in.[24]

Closely involved in the work of Jane Addams at the University Settlement, Willie engrossed himself in what A. Toynbee, the social reformer and economist, had written. The whole concept was incorporated into his social thought and created for him "the desire to be drawn closer to Mankind, nearer to God."[25] Sensitive to everything that he saw, he shared his experiences with his parents.

> There is one sight which affects me more than any other, it is the many little children going about the streets with their little old shawls drawn over their heads.
>
> You would love the little foreign children, Jews, Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Italians, Greeks, French Canadians, Irish, German and Swedish.[26]

In his perception, though, there was an extreme need for social reform.[27] His work at the university dealt with Trade Unionism in the United States and The International Topographical Union; but Willie became disenchanted with the program at the University of Chicago and decided to leave.

In 1897 Willie went to Harvard to finish his master's degree. His depleted savings forced him into a life of poverty, so different from that he had experienced at Woodside or even that of his parents who were then struggling with financial problems. His room was roughly furnished, without either mattress or bed clothes. He had to buy his own coal, and pay for car fare, food and fees. His situation was so desperate that he seriously considered putting off his university studies for a year or so. John King offered to assist him, but Willie declined fully aware that his father could not afford the additional burden. However, Willie persisted and managed to continue by tutoring students, and eventually was appointed a fellow at Harvard.[28]

While at Harvard, Willie was stimulated by the works of the social scientist, Thorstein Bunde Veblen, among them "The Theory of the Leisure Class", and of Henry George who wrote "Progress and Poverty." Absorbed in their writings he wrote of his thoughts about them to his parents and to his future brother-in-law, Harry Lay. It seemed that Willie believed George's concept of "the single tax" would end speculation and monopoly, but would not benefit the working classes.[29] On the one hand, he was impressed with the homes and the monuments of great Americans[30] and believed that the wealthy people there were "of the type who use their money in the proper way."[31] On the other hand, he saw a need for social reform.

Willie's social attitudes were strongly entrenched in the theological basis fostered by John King. Exposure to new doctrines and theories stimulated him but did not deter him from his beliefs.

> As to the doctrine of the non existence of evil, I simply cannot believe it, I have not got to go beyond myself to know how terribly real its existence is and it did not require a residence in the slums of the worst American city to teach me that it is the most terrible of all forces in the world today. To tell me that evil does not exist is to tell me that I cannot trust my senses, excepting which I must stop reasoning.[32]

As a compassionate man, he was disturbed by the wretchedness he observed in the dirty streets of Boston, wondering what would become of the people. In his mind there was "little danger of our never having men to do menial labour" or "of overeducating the coming race."[33] In trying to assist those unfortunate people, Willie often became disillusioned with the response he received. He recounted the following experience:

> I spent until after 3 working about in these homes and small shops. I heard a woman trying to turn her drunken husband out of doors, three or two children were on the streets. The little girl told me she did not like her father and laughed when she said her mother was going to get the copper to put him in jail, and that she had him him on the head with a chair.[34]

Willie had difficulty in accepting what might become of a girl with such an attitude. From the security of the family life he had known, he asked God to restore his love for all mankind so that he would be deserving of God's love in return.[35] But Willie's despair was temporary, for his commitment was to "make my work here the noblest monument I can rear for the good of others, keeping the need of the World constantly before me."[36]

In conjunction with his concern for social change and improvement among the working classes, Willie displayed a growing interest in labour organization. As early as 1893 he had discussed labour problems with the Socialist Labour Party and, in 1895, addressed its members on Arnold Toynbee and the industrial revolution in England. John King had introduced Willie to Daniel O'Donoghue, the Irish Catholic labour leader in Toronto who served on the Trades and Labour Council. Willie maintained a friendship with O'Donoghue and corresponded with him as late as 1898.[37] Disturbed by the exploitation of sweated workers, Willie wrote an article about it which so impressed John King that he suggested Willie speak to Sir William Mulock. As a result, Mulock asked Willie to prepare a report on sweating in relationship to governmental clothing contracts. In his investigation, Willie conversed with factory inspectors and members of the Trades and Labour councils and discovered that no real organized labour had been involved, but instead the items of clothing were worked on in homes. In 1898 Willie's report was finalized and it recommended humane treatment and inspection of men, women and children doing sweated work. It formed part of the Recommendation in the Fair Wages Resolution sponsored by Post Master General William Mulock.[38]

Deeply concerned with the welfare of those around him, Willie suffered through a personal traumatic experience. As a high school student in Berlin he had been friendly with girls and mentioned having fallen in love with Rose Humpel and a Miss Grossert; but they were insignificant adolescent affairs.[39] However, while at Harvard, Willie fell seriously in love with a girl whom he referred to as "A" and whom he intended to marry. When Isabel King found out about Willie's love affair she reprimanded him, telling him that charity began at home, that the girls were getting older and Max needed a chance to get through university. Jennie wrote to say that their father had looked to him as a companion to walk and talk with, and scolded him for planning to give up his unfinished education on a love that was not proven.[40]

Willie had difficulty dealing with his feelings. He was torn by the happiness he found in his love of "A" and the anguish it caused at home. Although John King was disappointed by Willie's plan to get married, Isabel and Jennie made Willie feel guilty.

> ...she speaks of me forsaking her...as tho' all at home had been resting upon me and as though I had been selfish, forgetful and thought never of them all ... And then Jennie speaks of me having nothing to offer, of my asking all. Truly I have asked everything and have brought nothing.[41]

Hoping for understanding, Willie expressed his feelings strongly and truly, but the criticism from his family made him wonder if he had acted in too much haste.[42] He returned home and was distraught to find his parents "look so careworn and distressed."[43] As a result, Willie gave in to the pressure exerted upon him and promised not to become engaged. However, he refused to promise that he would not love the girl or engage himself to her at a later date.[44]

Willie returned to Harvard and continued to see "A," to him so beautiful in her white dress and nurse's bonnet. Knowing that they loved each other but that no engagement was possible as yet, Willie confessed in his diary: "I have kept faith with those at home, with (A) and myself, and I am happy now."[45] Bella, who was in nursing school in Boston by that time, showed Willie part of a letter that he had written home and Willie wondered how his parents' hearts could not have been moved by it. He discussed with Bella what had been said at home and told her that he would marry "A" in time. To his diary he confided:

> ...They will never know the pain I have suffered...Mother is willing to trust to the Good that guides us, father is strongly opposed. Parents do wrong to oppose. It makes children search for weaknesses they had (?) otherwise never thought of. It soon teaches them to see "who has a right to throw a stone". It is all this darned social distinction. How many lives and homes has it ruined? Yet me will not admit it.[46]

Regardless of the distractions and anguish of Willie's love affair with "A," the promises of which were never fulfilled, in 1898 he presented his thesis, "Theory of Distribution" and received his M.A.[47] Shortly thereafter he left the United States and what the effects of that lost love were on Willie's life is uncertain. In 1902 he was involved in some altercation over the attentions he paid a minister's wife, having kept her out until midnight on one occasion.[48] On December 31, 1911, the year in which Willie had been best man at Max's wedding, he admitted: "I have little leisure opportunity to make with care and prudence the great step in life - the choosing of a wife. This I hope to do during the coming year."[49]

When Willie left Harvard it was as the result of winning a Post Graduate Travelling Fellowship in 1899 which enabled him to visit and to study in Europe. He spent the majority of his time in Great Britain where, because of his past experience at Hull House with Jane Addams, he lived and worked at the Passemore Edwards Settlement near London. His contribution at the settlement was lecturing and debating on social thought, particularly as it applied to the Workmen's Compensation Act. Willie's letters to John King were filled with the excitement of meeting and having discussions with several Fabians, among them Mrs. Sydney Webb and Miss Dorothy Ward, the renowned settlement worker, at the home of the Ramsay Macdonalds.[50] Through his work, Willie met John Burns, the labour leader of the Great Dock Strike, a figure who impressed him greatly. In Willie's estimation, Burns was "a man of sense, courage, conviction and honour," who having been "at the back of the fair wages movement" in Great Britain, earned the pride of the labouring classes.[51]

Following a whirlwind trip to Brussels, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Bern, several Italian cities, Gibraltar and New York, Willie returned home to Toronto.[52] Before coming home, Willie had been faced with a dilemma. He had to choose between an offer from Harvard to lecture in political economy, with a recommendation for Professor of Economics at a salary of $2500, or to work for W. Mulock by establishing the *Labour Gazette*. John King handled the correspondence pertaining to the offers in Willie's absence, stalling Harvard and acting as intermediary between Willie and Mulock.[53]

In 1900 Willie had written his father about his quandry, whether to seek his future in the United States where his academic brilliance had been recognized or to pursue a career in Canada.

> ...I am a Canadian by blood and very much so I fear and my influence should count for more in Canada than elsewhere ... I was fast becoming an American not voluntarily but I was being won over ... If I can find in Canada the sphere I desire and can be much service in, I would rather my life should be lived there than anywhere else....[54]

Willie believed that despite all that could be said against the United States, it was one of the greatest countries in the world. He realized that his three years residence there and one year abroad under its patronage was of infinite value to him and would provide him with a fairer estimate and judgement of its affairs. But pride in his Mackenzie blood which had been fostered by John King in the early years made Willie hope for some recognition in Canada.

> ...I cannot attempt to forecast my own future yet, but if I can keep alive a little of the old Mac in the Dominion it may lead me to an honourable place in the nation's office.[55]

Willie decided to become editor of the *Labour Gazette* and shortly thereafter was made deputy minister with the Department of Labour. But he was still unsettled in his mind for he yearned to go to Harvard to complete his Ph.D.,[56] a goal not accomplished until 1909. Having discussed that desire with John King, his father urged him to stay on in his present position, telling him, "As to your plans I cannot discuss them here and now. I have always had an ambition that you would be Minister of Labour - that is worth thinking about."[57]

John King's ambition for his son was not realized until 1909, when Willie joined the Cabinet as minister of Labour. It had not been difficult for John King to direct Willie towards that specific attainment, for Willie had revealed to him his interest in the welfare of his fellow men and their social problems. He had admitted, "I have a nobler conception of my own usefulness to the world and to the cause of labour itself," and, in his view, the thought that a lesser individual might be made minister of Labour would be "detrimental to the well being of this country and the Industrial classes."[58] In the interim, however, Willie had another job offer which he declined, that of superintendent of the Toronto General Hospital at $4000 per year plus the cost of heat and light.[59]

As deputy minister in the Department of Labour, Willie was involved in the settlement of disputes between management and labour and related to his father the dilemma of his position. Willie believed that working men should have leisure enough to enable them to discharge their duties as citizens.[60] He attempted to end further dismissals by management and to get men reinstated following strike action, because he believed their demands were just.[61] But he was disturbed by another aspect of labour.

> From talks I have had with the members of the trade union committee and the nine owners I have come to have quite a different impression of the possible tyranny of labour organizations through biased and disinterested leaders.[62]

From his observations of conditions in working communities Willie concluded to his parents, "I don't wonder workingmen are becoming socialistic. They are driven to it."[63] Willie's desire for social change never included socialism as an alternative measure. His diary revealed his musings on the methods to ameliorate social problems, agreeing with the concepts of Professor Saycoff of Princeton.

> ...that the class struggle of the socialists was an impossible and undesirable way of constructing social policy, that the admitted rights of individuals under the old individualism of Adam Smith and his school, permitted the state an interference in matters that infringed their rights. That laissez-faire as such was not to be the rule, but laissez-faire subject to the supreme right of the state to safeguard certain fundamental rights of individuals, under this attitude he thought the state might enforce anti-sweating, prohibit'n of child and female labour.[64]

In Willie's mind, the problems of labour and capital could best be resolved through fair arbitration.[65] However, when arbitration failed the state had the right to interfere in the settlement to safeguard the rights of workers.

Willie's concern for people involved him in work on the immigration of East Indians to Canada. Reminiscent of the interest stirred at Woodside by the Reverend Mr. Winchester and John King, Willie dealt with the losses sustained by the Chinese and Japanese as the result of rioting in Vancouver. But his finest effort as deputy minister was the authorship of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act in 1907 which allowed for fair play between employer and employed in creating industrial peace.[66] In 1915 an extension of this act was applied in Great Britain to protect the rights of munitions workers and Willie shared his pride in his accomplishment with his father.

> I enclose a copy of a letter I received from Sir Wilfrid yesterday, in reply to a communication I had sent him drawing his attention to an account of Lloyd-George's Munitions Bill as its provisions are to be gathered from press despatches. You may remember my sending the cable to Lloyd-George the day you and I were together at the C.P.R. office, and you will also remember my telling you of having subsequently written him. Without having seen the Bill, it looks very much to me as if in some of its essentials the machinery devised is based on our Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. The letter from Sir Wilfrid is particularly valuable in that, over his own signature, he credits me with being the author of the Bill. As Prime Minister at the time it was considered in the Cabinet and introduced into Parliament, he has, of course, full knowledge of its authorship.[67]

After John King moved to Toronto, Willie attended several Liberal meetings and gatherings with his father,[68] as he had done as a youngster in Berlin. But in that period the idea of playing a central role in Canadian politics had not really formed. It was not until he was in Great Britain he began to express some thoughts in the political direction, ideals upon which Isabel King built hope and aspirations for her son. He had written to his parents:

> If fortune ever favour my path in future days my desire will remain till then as it is now to go on with the work which grandfather struggled with so hard, to bring a more righteous administration to control public affairs and to gain for the subjects of this country a wider freedom of liberty and truth.[69]

He went to Ottawa in 1900 with a letter of introduction from his father to Wilfrid Laurier who soon became a personal friend and mentor.[70]

Willie's political philosophy was fixed in industrial relations, and in his view compromise was to be utilized to refute the socialistic ideal. By 1910, two years after entering the political sphere, Willie envisioned Liberalism with free trade and industrial peace as the confronter of Conservatism which supported British imperialism and the concept of making Canada a white man's country. Willie's creed had been coloured by the thoughts and ideals of John King, William Lyon Mackenzie, Goldwin Smith and Wilfrid Laurier to produce a belief in a Liberal, independent Canada within the British Commonwealth. In the end, King became what E. Ludwig described as the *Mittler*, or mediator, the man who understood the Canadian mind.[71]

Willie's decision to enter politics was encouraged by Dr. J.F. Honsberger, a Berlin physician who was interested in social work and education, founded the Y.M.C.A. in the community, and was president of the North Waterloo Liberal Association. With his aid and that of Peter Sims, Will Berry, the Staeblers and the Shoemakers, Willie, having taken up residence at 96 Queen Street in Berlin, won the election in 1908. While serving as the representative of the North Waterloo Riding, Willie was made minister of Labour and a privy councillor. He also lectured in political economy at St. Jerome's College and completed his Ph.D. thesis, obtaining his degree from Harvard. But he lost the seat in 1911, chiefly because of his handling of the Grand Trunk Strike wherein he had not intervened strongly enough on behalf of the workingmen who failed to gain reinstatement of full pension rights following the strike. Furthermore, the Liberal party's position on free trade had been interpreted as a form of slow American annexation, and the naval question was looked upon as anti-German in a dominantly German riding where Willie's opponent, W.G. Weichel, was a German Lutheran and fluent in German.[72] It was during that particular election that the myth of the King family's anti-German sentiment was initiated.

The years between Willie's defeat at Waterloo and his leadership of the Liberal party in August 1919 combined the success of several accomplishments; the rejection of another political defeat at Newmarket in 1917; and personal grief with the loss of his sister, his father and his mother within two and a half years. He served as president of the Ontario Reform Association from 1911 to 1914, was editor of the *Canadian Liberal Monthly* from 1913 to 1914, and was a member of the national executive of the Canadian Patriotic Fund. From 1914 to 1917 Willie worked for the Rockefeller Foundation in the United States, and from 1917 to 1919 as a freelance industrial relations worker, particularly with the Standard Oil Company.[73] During that period his book *Industry and Humanity* was published.

When he had worked for the Rockefeller Foundation, Willie wrote his father that he believed he had given service to the American working man and to the industrial states.[74] From the knowledge he had accumulated as the result of that experience, Willie had advised Max, who was to become his sounding board after the death of John King:

> I drafted a tentative plan of industrial training and technical education for the Liberal Party to take up and advocate as a part of a National Policy in Canada.[75]

Six months before Willie was made leader of the Liberal party, he wrote Max telling him he had been offered a position with the Carnegie Institute to further understanding between America and Canada and other British Colonies. But, he added, like their grandfather whose "battle was against the political autocracy mine must be against the industrial autocracy."[76]

The loss of Bella, John and Isabel King drew the remaining children together in their shared grief. But the settlement of the estate created a rift between Jennie and Willie. Both had memories and both wanted the realities of material possessions from Woodside and Grange Road. As the executor, Willie did not want to make a formal accounting, believing the details of the estate as arranged with his father should remain private. Willie cancelled Max's debt of $4740.06 to him with the statement "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfill the Law of Christ."[77] It was Willie's intention to divide the household effects into two parts and to give Max an equitable cash payment rather than send furniture to Denver. But Jennie demanded a full accounting and as a result relations between Willie and Jennie were strained and unpleasant.[78]

Willie was distraught that Jennie thought him untrustworthy and, far worse, had discussed private family matters with others. But Max, desperately ill and financially dependent on Willie, took Jennie's side in the issue, almost jeopardizing the Woodside partnership. Touching Willie's conscience by reminding him that some Easter he would recall his actions, Max wrote:

> ...It pains me to write of what you have said about Jennie and the assistance she gave the home. However I consider it only right to tell you that I regard your words as unfair, unbrotherly and unmanly in the extreme. Jennie may not have had the monetary advantages that you have had, but burdened as she was with the duties of her own home, when opportunity permitted she gave her all to Isabel and mother and moreover she gave it without thought or expectation of remuneration....
> Beware lest your passion for obtaining credit leads you into paths of dishonour.[79]

Max's appeal to Willie based on past family unity born of charity succeeded, and Willie and Jennie once again became friends.[80]

By 1919, Max was totally reliant on Willie for support[81] and, in the manner of the Woodside partnership it was agreed that Willie would cancel all debts at the time of Max's death.[82] The closeness of the brothers was an important factor in their lives, particularly after the death of their father. In one of his books Max had written a dedication Willie treasured.

> To my brother who has been an ever present help in time of trouble and to my wife to whose watchful care and devotion I owe my life.[83]

In addition, Willie derived solace from Max's writing, "Nerves and Personal Power," which he had helped to edit. Close to the pinnacle of success, the prime ministership, Willie admitted to Max:

> Some days I have complete command of myself, but there are times when I seem to lose this grip entirely, and to be overcome with depression which is next to impossible to throw off. I am beginning to discover that highly emotional nature not unlike mother's in some particulars, and that I shall have to learn to guard against all its dangers.[84]

Max's acceptance of his illness and the manner in which he suffered through what seemed an unending struggle, similar to that his father had experienced, awed the compassionate Willie. He set his brother up as an example of courage and tried to adopt his way as an approach to life and its adversities. Faced with the most important election of his career, against Arthur Meighen his old university opponent, Willie confided in Max:

> I hope you will believe that I speak most sincerely and honestly when I say that, in the big political battle which at the moment I am waging on behalf of the people against selfish, self-seeking forces, your example, more than any other human factor, has been the source of my greatest strength and the strongest of all inspirations.[85]

With success close at hand, Willie credited his family relationship for the part played in its achievement.

> Believe me, dear Max, that if I have reached the position of great power and responsibility to which we have looked forward together, more is owing to your noble example, helpful and constant interest and support than to aught else saving alone the inherited moral strength and purpose which we both share.[86]

Max died in 1922, the year in which Mackenzie King became the prime minister of Canada. Willie sent from Ottawa the nurse who had cared for their mother to provide some comfort in Max's last days.[87] The letters which Max's wife, May, wrote to Willie captured the strong feelings that had existed.

> ...He loved you with all the strength of his great quiet heart. You have indeed been "our best man"....[88]
> ...the last message he dictated was to you, his last promise was to me, to be with me always and what that is to me no word can tell.[89]

The human partnership was over and Willie concluded it by bringing Max's body to be buried beside those of John, Isabel and Bella King.

There can be little doubt the young, idealistic Mackenzie King was moulded by a brilliant father. It was in the library at Woodside where the pride in the purpose of his grandfather's work was fostered and origins of his social thoughts commenced. Those attributes blossomed in his university career and came to fruition in adulthood. Under his administration considerable social amelioration occurred in Canada, but there were those in the political sphere who wondered what had happened to that idealism. Perhaps it was because he no longer had a mentor. Although he maintained contact with Jennie, it was not as close a relationship as he had had with his parents and brother with whom he discussed his concepts and goals. Once they died, Willie was truly alone for, in the sense of a Victorian gentleman, he expressed his thoughts solely in his diary. In his private moments, Woodside became compartmentalized, a romantic place known only to six people. But as clear as Woodside was in his mind, by 1922 its fabric was beginning to crumble. The real Woodside was dying.

Woodside Lives Again: Mackenzie King and the Woodside Trust

The romance of Woodside was a private phenomenon, kept vividly alive in the memories of the King family. The deteriorating condition of the estate about which John King had complained worsened after their departure in 1893. Subsequently it was again occupied by members of the Colquhoun family, then rented out to tenants and sold to two successive purchasers. In addition, the size of the property was gradually reduced because of various land sales and expropriations. By 1942 the neglected house was to be demolished, but the North Waterloo Liberal Association believed its reconstruction was a worthwhile project to honour the prime minister of Canada who had lived there as a boy.

As previously described, it was during the King tenure at Woodside that the descendents of James Colquhoun began to gain control of the property, first with Frederick Colquhoun receiving power of attorney in December 1885,[1] and then with the assignment of the deed of conveyance to Gideon Colquhoun in 1890.[2] Shortly thereafter, Jennie informed Willie that "Mr. Williams would like to get the place but Mr. Colquhoun will not sell."[3] It seemed that rumours about the sale of Woodside were rife, for Mrs. Bowlby had written her son Shannon at university, "I heard the other day that Mr. Williams of W.L.Y. & R. had purchased the Colquhoun property now occupied by Mrs. J. King. I am not able to say whether the report is correct or not."[4]

Some members of the Colquhoun family resided at Woodside at various times. But confusion exists concerning who precisely in the family owned the property because the methods of transfer were not clearly recorded. In August 1902 Gideon James Colquhoun sold the northwest corner of the property (presently an industrial area) to The Berlin and Bridgeport Electric Street Railway Company Limited. For $650 Gideon Colquhoun and his wife, Flora, granted 1 1/10 acres of land to The Grand Trunk Railway in 1903. Yet, in 1906, Gideon's brother, Frederick, willed the property to Johanna Liddella Colquhoun at his death. But in 1911 Gideon Colquhoun, listed as resident and owner of Woodside, transferred a small part of the lot to the town of Berlin.[5]

Additional Woodside land was expropriated in 1913 by the Berlin and Northern Railway Company under the Ontario Railway Act. Gideon Colquhoun died on August 28, 1918, and the property, reduced in size, passed to his wife, Flora Adams Colquhoun. Mrs. Colquhoun rented part of the house, a practice that continued under successive owners until 1948.

During that period, eighteen different families were registered as tenants, sometimes as many as three families at one time, but mostly two. Besides, the tenants sublet rooms to numerous boarders whose residency was unrecorded.[6]

In 1923 Flora Colquhoun sold the section of the Woodside property beyond the railway tracks to John Brett, a boarder at Woodside. After Flora Colquhoun's death in 1924, the executors of the estate sold what remained of Woodside to Ann Elizabeth Walters, the wife of Dr. J. Walters, who had hoped to return Woodside to its original grandeur. But Mrs. Walters did not have enough money for the undertaking because the house had fallen too greatly into disrepair. Mrs. Walters died in 1934 and the property was held under trust until January 1942, when it was sold by her executrix to Jacob Bush, a butcher by trade.[7]

Two years before the time Jacob Bush purchased the Woodside property, its area had been further reduced. Under a bylaw, the city of Kitchener expropriated a section of the estate to build Spring Valley Road.[8] Bush intended to make a profit from his purchase. He planned to demolish the house which was badly run down, with the kitchen wing half its original size, the floors of bare boards and the walls whitewashed, the appearance of which distressed Willie greatly when he had visited Kitchener.[9] The ultimate plan was to subdivide the property into lots; but Bush's first step to make money was to have the trees cut down and an arrangement was made to sell the trees for lumber to Henry E. Ratz, a local saw miller.[10]

Concurrently, one of the executive members of the North Waterloo Liberal Association was disturbed when he learned of the proposed plans for the Woodside estate. After meeting with J. Harper Schofield, Bush's lawyer, Dr. J.E. Hett who had a practice in Toronto, Hamilton and Kitchener, advised the prime minister on January 28, 1942 of the actions taken to forestall Bush's intentions. Hett believed that Woodside should "be saved for future generations" but was afraid that the trees might already have been cut down. He contacted Ratz and discovered that because of a mechanical problem with the machinery, the trees had not been cut down. When Ratz learned that several men were interested in restoring Woodside, he promised Hett he would not cut down trees. Hett was pleased to inform Mackenzie King:

> That the old place with its memories will be cared for as it should be and that the very trees which were your companions years ago will be seen for many years to come by the many pilgrims who will come and receive inspirations as they look upon your life's work and the darkest hours of the world through which you led Canada.[11]

John Harper Schofield, who had been president of the North Waterloo Liberal Association for eight years, was not a native of Kitchener and therefore not familiar with its history. His wife, however, was. Furthermore, she knew about the Kings through Homer Watson from whom she had taken painting lessons.[12] Informed by Dr. Hett of Mackenzie King's feeling for Woodside and cognizant that his client Bush planned to dispose of it, Schofield consulted with Harold W. Wagner, son-in-law of King's friend, Dr. Honsberger, and with John Watson, nephew of Homer Watson, to determine what might be done to forestall the destruction of Woodside. As members of the Liberal Association, the three men approached Louis Breithaupt, M.P. for North Waterloo and nephew of Willie's friend, Albert. With the impetus from Dr. Hett, they set about to save Woodside. At a meeting of the Association on January 30, 1942, it was decided:

> That the boyhood home on Spring St., Kitchener, of the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, be acquired by the Municipality and preserved in perpetuity in commemoration of our Prime Minister.[13]

The proposed plan was to preserve and beautify the house with its 11 1/2 acres attached and to raise $50,000 for the purchase, restoration and maintenance of the estate. Seven trustees were to be elected from among representative Liberals in whom the property was to be vested to administer and manage. The Waterloo Trust and Savings Company was to be appointed the custodian of funds.[14]

Although Mackenzie King was stimulated

Woodside, November 26, 1945. (*Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, Kitchener, Ontario)

by the idea, as prime minister he could not be personally connected with it for fear it might be interpreted as a form of patronage. He did not want Woodside to be a memorial to himself but, rather, to his parents and his family and their lives spent together there. In that context, he received considerable inquiry asking for information. A letter from D.H. Russell included the following exemplary statement:

> I have been thinking over the thought you recently expressed concerning the possibility of arrangements being made to have the home of your boyhood days restored and established as a museum, which might preserve in some interesting form a record of your early home, its atmosphere and environment.[15]

The Liberal Association had acquired the option to purchase the major portion of the estate and the house for $3500, an offer which was open until February 1943, the period of one year. H.J. Sims, an old friend of King and a law partner of Schofield, asked Willie what he thought should be done with the house which, in his estimation, was beyond renovation, and wondered if the property should be turned over to City Parks. In addition, Sims asked for clarification of Willie's residency at Woodside.

> By the way, Billy, can you tell me how

> long you lived at "Woodside"? I remember you living for a time on Margaret Avenue. Now that the movement is on foot, I sincerely hope that the property can be preserved. I fully appreciate how intensely interested you would be about the matter. What a pity that the place as you knew it years ago was partly spoiled by the two railways running through and the house being allowed to go largely to rack and ruin.[16]

Having obtained the option to purchase Woodside from Bush and Ratz, Schofield called a meeting of the committee to formulate plans on how it was to be accomplished. L. Breithaupt commended Schofield for having attained the arrangements to conserve the property. He "felt that the Members of Parliament would be glad to make contributions of a sufficient amount to buy the property," and it was decided that, for the time, no further action should be taken.[17]

Breithaupt, Schofield and Watson were appointed by the committee to establish a method to solicit contributors. However, for the sake of expedience, Breithaupt personally put up the money. In 1943 Jacob Bush sold part of the Woodside property including the house which was then registered in the names of John Harper Schofield and John Watson. In addition, Henry E. Ratz had dismissed his claim to the trees.[18]

By January 1944, the decision to form a Woodside Trust was in the embryonic stage. The acting committee consisted of the originators of the scheme to save Woodside, namely L. Breithaupt, J.H. Schofield, J. Watson and H. Wagner who acted as treasurer. They had presented to the Liberal Federation their plans for consideration and endorsement, that was to secure patrons and to establish a board of trustees. Schofield was to investigate the possibility of setting up a nonprofit organization to raise funds to restore Woodside. The committee was enlarged to include A.E. Pequegnat, Carl Weber, Albert Dunker and Gordon Hamblin, and was actively assisted by J. Albert Smith, Colonel E.G. Barrie and Fred Schneider.[19] Although it had been suggested that the drive to obtain trust funds be undertaken on a nonpartisan level, the trust was composed chiefly of members of the North Waterloo Liberal Association. Furthermore, at a meeting of the enlarged committee in March 1944, an alternative plan was considered.

> The opinion expressed by Mr. Dunker at this meeting was that the house should be torn down and a new house on the present land be rebuilt at about two-thirds the present size. The members of the Committee were much impressed by the prospects. At this meeting Mr. J. Albert Smith was named Chairman of the Organization Committee.[20]

The project of restoring Woodside was well publicized in the newspapers and it was criticized by the Colquhoun descendants who were bitter about the King-Woodside connection and advised the press that the King family had resided there for three years only.[21] In response to those allegations, Mackenzie King wrote a letter to L. Breithaupt. In it he acknowledged that the property belonged to the Colquhoun family, but confirmed that the story that it was rented on a temporary basis, while members of family were absent in Europe, was wholly inaccurate. He recounted how, in the early 80s, his Uncle Dougall McDougall had rented Woodside which was completely empty and unfurnished and that the King family had taken it over from him. Willie recalled vividly going back and forth from Woodside to school for the last two years he was at Mr. Suddaby's school, throughout the four-year term at high school and living at Woodside during the first two years he was at the University in Toronto, eight years in all which covered almost the entire period of his boyhood. He emphasized that the house had been entirely furnished by his father and admitted that it almost broke his heart to see Woodside so neglected and in such a state of disrepair for, he stated, it had been allowed to go to rack and ruin after his family departed.

> On the other hand, Woodside has its association with pretty much all that took place of importance in my life during the years of residence in Berlin, except for one or two summers when I was representing North Waterloo.[22]

The magnitude of world events took precedence over the plans for Woodside. Because of the invasion of Europe in June 1944, the decision to collect money for the Woodside project was temporarily deferred. By August, 1944 the Liberal Association advised the Hon. T.A. Crerar, minister of Mines, that it had sufficient funds only to retain the property and pay the taxes.[23] But by that time, the newspapers began to refer to Woodside as the former home of the John King family.[24] In addition, the preliminary trust organization suggested that, beyond the planned renovations, Woodside be made a national historic site.[25]

At a dinner honouring his twenty-fifth anniversary as leader of the Liberal Party of Canada, Mackenzie King was advised officially that the North Waterloo Liberal Association had acquired the Woodside property. He responded that the honour done him was "even more a tribute to the memory of my Father and Mother and to the home which they provided for their children." King reflected on the memories interwoven with the old home, and added:

> Apart from its personal associations, "Woodside" and the adjoining woodland was as beautiful a house and grounds as

The future Woodside Trust and W.L. Mackenzie King, September 9, 1947. *Left to right*, J.H. Schofield, J.R. Watson, L.O. Breithaupt, W.L. Mackenzie King and H. Wagner. (Private collection of H. Wagner, Waterloo, Ontario)

> any to be found among the lovely homes scattered throughout the Province of Ontario.[26]

King was upset by the picture of the decayed house which appeared in the *Toronto Star*. He sent his friend, J.E. Atkinson, a more complimentary photograph of the old home to replace the one printed. Following the gesture, King received a letter from Atkinson who acknowledged the intention of the preservation of Woodside as a national historic site. On a more personal level, Atkinson continued:

> It interests me particularly as I have in my memory a quite vivid recollection of the family gathering there to which your father was good enough to take me on a blustery winter day more than fifty years ago. I remember also that you drove with us from your father's office. I am glad you have furnished me with a better photograph of the house and I will see that it is made use of in any future reference in The Star to "Woodside" and that the print we have used in the paper will be destroyed.
>
> I wonder if you have noticed, as I have, that certain memories of long ago stand out with particular vividness when our minds are turned to them by some present incident. My memory of the family dinner at "Woodside" is like that. You were fortunate beyond most in the character of your parents and in the influence of a home to which, as you yourself have so often acknowledged, a great portion of your success in life belongs.[27]

In 1945 the Louis Breithaupt Committee approached the Walsh Advertising Company Limited for assistance with the Woodside campaign. The recommendations were to select a Canada-wide National Committee whose responsibility was to help raise funds, to allocate detailed work related to the project to a local committee, and to determine a specific purpose for the house other than just a monument. The Walsh Agency offered its services free with the exception of travelling expenses for work done out of Toronto. Following two meetings, one at the Granite Club attended by reporters from the *Toronto Star* and another at Breithaupt's home, several conclusions were reached. The local committee was designated and included the originators of the concept, L. O. Breithaupt, J. Harper Schofield (chairman), John Watson and Harold Wagner (secretary). The services of the Walsh Agency were accepted with the stipulation that expenses be limited to $2000. A secretary was to be hired for $1800 per annum. The future trust was to be called the "W.L. Mackenzie King Woodside Foundation" and patrons were to be selected from among Cabinet ministers, Senate leaders, provincial premiers, and leaders of the opposition. All transactions were to be referred to the National Committee.[28]

There was a growing interest in the actual work surrounding the proposed Woodside project. Carl A. Borgstrom, an accomplished landscape architect and town planner, offered his assistance through his friend Kenneth Sims whose father had stayed for a time at Kingsmere. In addition, Mackenzie King was delighted to learn that his friend Joe Atkinson of the *Toronto Star*, who had personal knowledge of what a fine home Woodside had been, was to act on the National Committee.[29]

Accompanied by Kenneth Sims, Borgstrom inspected the house and property and submitted his recommendations to the local committee. He suggested the purchase of the Brett property to the west and the remaining portion of the Woodside property to the east retained by Jacob Bush. In addition, he believed the Canadian National Railway should be asked to change the spur line and the city approached with the request for a tax free exemption.[30] Pursuant to the recommendation, the Bush property was obtained giving the trust ownership of 11 1/2 acres of the Woodside estate for a total purchase price of $5612.77.

In January 1946 King planned to go to Kitchener to attend the wedding of Mary Breithaupt. While there he also intended to see the Woodside house, meet with the local committee and to visit Kenneth Sims. However, circumstances prevented him from following through with the proposed arrangements. Breithaupt kept King informed of what Borgstrom had done concerning the Woodside restoration plans. Willie was given a sketch of the artist's concept of the house and was asked for comments. In return he sent a reproduction of a photograph of the house taken while the Kings lived there as a family and regretted that he did not have one of the front view to provide a better perspective. However, he drew attention to several features in the sketch.

> The first is the little addition at the back of the house. While we were living at Woodside, that portion of the house extended out three or four times as far as is indicated on the drawing. It contained the butler's pantry, the kitchen, the servant's bedroom, and a summer kitchen. In addition, there was a little brick attachment for storing coal and ashes. It gave quite a different appearance to the house than that shown in the drawing....
>
> The other point to which I would draw attention is the part which the vines played at the side of the house, and the way in which the lawn rose up (there was a slope or bank) to within a couple of feet of the windows. I recall quite well that, as children, we frequently opened the French windows and would jump out on to the lawn, or crawl from the lawn over the window sills into the house. In the drawing you have sent me, the windows appear to be at a considerable height from the foundation....
>
> My recollection of the addition behind the house is that there was one window which opened into what was the butler's pantry, a couple of windows further on which opened into the servant's quarters, which were off the kitchen. The summer kitchen was lighted from the opposite side.
>
> ....In the drawing, I notice that the trees appear as if they were of a species which grew out of the earth curved at the base instead of straight and round.... A truer representation would be had by the avoidance of curved bases, especially the trees on the left.[31]

Borgstrom, working through L. Breithaupt, sought to obtain as much data as possible relating to both the exterior and interior to restore the house and grounds as accurately as possible. He asked for information about the type and position of furniture, especially that of the prime minister's own former room. He wondered what special flowers and shrubs should be included in any new plantings. Having discovered a dying apple tree near the corner of what he called "the lean-to" and another in slightly better condition growing on the bank on the same side as the main entrance, Borgstrom was curious to know whether the type of apple produced was known so that trees of the same variety could be planted in their places. Furthermore, Borgstrom suggested the judicious cleaning out of the unrestricted growth of trees which presented the aspect of a forest rather than the open lawns and glades which originally surrounded the house.[32]

Following Borgstrom's suggestion, workmen were hired to clean up the property and to remove the dead wood. Mr. Atkinson sent someone from the *Toronto Star* to photograph the cleaning up process at Woodside; and it was arranged to have Cockfield-Brown of Montreal do public relations work on the project.[33]

Mackenzie King meticulously examined Borgstrom's plan of the interior of Woodside, finding it in accord with the front part of the house, and indicating the purpose for which the rooms were used. He re-emphasized that what was lacking was the one-story addition which made up what had been referred to as "the back part of the house." He feared its demolition had been more extensive than he first believed, and the resulting portion was what Borgstrom called "the lean-to." To reproduce the original effect, King planned to have copies made of a photograph and a painting of the house done by Dolly Bowman, both of which were at Kingsmere. Concerning the grounds, Mackenzie King added the following comments:

> Even the briefest visit to "Woodside" would enable me to disclose what trees should be retained and what removed in order to preserve the appearance of the grounds as they were when we lived there. What saddened me most in the changes I saw was the way in which the trees on either side of the winding driveway from the gate to the house had had their lower branches cut off, thereby wholly destroying the effect which the avenue in its original form possessed. It may be that underbrush has grown there

> in the interval. If it has, it might be worth while allowing it to remain. It certainly would be if it helped to restore the original effect. It may be that that could best be done by the additional planting of some small evergreens or shrubbery. I could plot out the flower beds in no time; also the lily pond, and the lawns on either side of the house.[34]

To assure accuracy, King had a drawing made of the plan of the back part of the house as he recalled it to complement the work done by Borgstrom. He furnished a copy of the photograph he had promised of the front of the house which included a considerable portion of the back belonging to the kitchen. Included in the photograph were a man, woman and child whom he identified as a family in service to the Kings at the time it was taken. Unfortunately, in King's mind, the photograph failed to portray the pleasing effect of the back porch with its benches and lattice work, and its view of the lilac tree and pines. Nonetheless, he considered it far superior to the one of the house in its then present condition and suggested:

> When you come to have any pictures published in "The Star", I would strongly advise use being made of the photograph which I am enclosing of the front of the house and the one which pictures the other side of the house, to having reproduced any photographs of the house as it is at present. I think you will agree its dilapidated condition gives a wholly erroneous impression.[35]

Although the committee had sensed the romantic appeal Woodside held for Mackenzie King, it was having difficulty in stimulating interest for the project. Other than a very few residents in Kitchener, most knew nothing of what Woodside had meant in the Berlin community while the King family occupied it. There was, however, a tremendous respect for Mackenzie King as a personage among the inhabitants. Therefore, in July 1946, the committee wanted to elicit from him some expression of the historical value and romantic attachment that Woodside, now in ruins, held for him. He had been asked, if given the choice, which of one or two places associated with his life would he choose as having the strongest personal appeal. Those mentioned were Woodside, Laurier House and Kingsmere. King admitted that all had associations which were "very precious," but that Woodside contributed most to making him the figure he had become in public life in Canada. In his judgement, before all else, Laurier House should be preserved for the nation for historic reasons. Because Laurier House was his own, he was free to make in his will such disposition of it as he deemed best. Kingsmere, also his own property, could be dealt with similarly. In summary, King wrote:

> This may perhaps answer what you are anxious to ascertain, namely, which of the homes with which my life has been associated is the one which, in my memory, as I advance in years is the one I cherish most. As Woodside is the only place of residence in which I have shared in those joys and sorrows which belong to family life, it is perhaps natural that, to me, Woodside should speak more of home than either of the other homes I have had.[36]

King truly wanted the restoration of Woodside, but he wondered if it was really possible. In his opinion, unless the house and grounds could be preserved in the manner which would bring them as close to the reality of what they were in his boyhood days, it would be a mistake to attempt anything at all. If, however, the committee thought it could be accomplished, then Mackenzie King believed that between Jennie Lay and himself, and what might be traced through other sources, there was enough of Woodside's furniture, pictures, books and other items to make the rooms as they were in his "father's day." He believed it worthwhile to save "for future generations something that would speak of the homes of Canada as they were in the later Victorian days." King stipulated that provision must be made for the maintenance and care of the restored house and property. Concerning the financing of the project, King had commented:

> I recall your asking me whether, in the event of it being decided to establish a foundation, contributions to the latter

> should be confined to the members of the Liberal Party or whether the foundation should be regarded as national in character. I believe in every way that it would be preferable that it should be given the broader aspect. It would, of course, be recognized that the foundation owed its origin to the members of the party but that the project itself had been promoted from national rather than from political reasons.[37]

Throughout 1946 effort had been made to complete plans for the foundation which was to be a non-political organization. The steering committee was to be made up of influential Liberals but the advisory council was to be composed of fifty men - leaders in the churches, in art, music, industry and labour. In that same year the remaining holdings of Jacob Bush had been obtained and registered in the names of Schofield and Watson. As well, employing the information about Woodside gathered from and confirmed by King, Borgstrom revised his sketch.[38]

In July 1946 the local committee believed it was ready to formulate its plans. A meeting, chaired by L. Breithaupt, was held at the Chateau Laurier Hotel in Ottawa and attended by representatives picked from across Canada by provincial ministers. Borgstrom's proposed plans were presented and discussed. Alternatives included restoration and landscaping under an endowment, or that plus a Canadiana museum. The sum to be collected was $400,000 for the former suggestion and $500,000 for the latter. L. Breithaupt, Senator Daigle and Ross Macdonald, M.P., were appointed as the nucleus of the executive that was to prepare a plan of costs and methods for fund-raising and requirements for incorporation. Colonel James Hurley was to be the secretary-manager of the project identified as "Mackenzie King Home and Park."[39]

But King was wary of those undertakings, fearful they might be construed as opportunities for political patronage. Being so personally identified with the project, King worried that some might say he was motivated in his appointments to those showing an interest in it. Therefore, he insisted that the plans be halted and suggested no further steps be taken until he could look Woodside over himself. It might have been that he perceived the proposals as deviating too far from what he originally intended, that is to honour his parents, when he suggested:

> It may well be that a better plan would be to give up entirely thought of the restoration of the house and have those who may be interested in a memorial project, limit their interest to the creation of a park which might carry my name, and have inserted there some memorial which would record it as being the home of my boyhood days.[40]

Breithaupt, Wagner, Sims, Watson and Schofield were extremely disappointed, anticipating the demise of the project they were dedicated to and fearful that the momentum would be lost if the plans were held in abeyance until King's retirement. They tried to exert pressure on King to visit Kitchener. Breithaupt and Wagner visited him at Laurier House in November 1946 but could not make him change his mind.[41]

It was not until September 9, 1947 that Mackenzie King visited his old home; and that was the turning point for Woodside. Accompanied by Breithaupt, Wagner, Schofield and Watson, King toured the grounds and the house. His diary reflected the overwhelming impact of nostalgia, romance and sense of continuity he had experienced on that particular day, and the resulting need to fulfill the vision of his childhood of really possessing Woodside as his own. What he felt and what he observed are best described in his own words.

> We drove by way of Margaret St. along Lancaster Road, out to Woodside. I recognized at once the familiar contour of the hills and fields - one which belonged to uncle Dougall; one time an orchard, now a site of many residences and then Woodside itself, the approach to which unhappily has been badly marred by a railroad crossing over a bridge constructed just a little on this side of what was a gateway leading up the Avenue. The fence and the gate have disappeared. We drove up the old avenue -a winding avenue - the purpose and beauty of which has been lost by the

> undercutting of trees on both sides. However the years have brought a mass of undergrowth which are gradually reaching up to the branches that remain, thereby restoring in part some of the effects that had been greatly lost when I last saw the property.
>
> ...Almost the first thought that came into my mind as I looked at the grass bank just opposite the house, was of the days when prior to examination for entrance into the University, I had studied and in part committed to memory, some of the Trial of Warren Hastings, which was to be one of the subject of examination.
>
> ...I was delighted to see in front of the house, there was still the appearance of the old lawn. I missed many of the old pine trees. Was not sorry to see that the stable and barns had been removed but was sorry to see a little garden built in what was originally part of a lawn. It had flowers in it but was more like a little kitchen garden and out of place in that large sweep of lawn. The grass, of course, was overgrown and it was with difficulty that I walked through some of it to the spot where, as children, we all mourned the loss and burial of the little dog Fanny. I recalled many of the incidents related to Old Bill, our horse; thought of the days we played cricket on the lawn; of sliding down a hill in the winter and of my brother Max sliding down on one or two occasions in a barrel.
>
> ...I went around to the other side of the house where flower beds were and searched for the tulip tree. It had grown to such enormous proportions that we passed it altogether without being able to place it. We came to where the lily pond was. Quite evident from the moisture of the ground there. Its moisture has been drained by some drainage system that has since run through. However we later found the tulip tree....What I missed most was the beauty of the view on the two sides of the house. They have all been taken down but that aspect might speedily be restored. The outline of the house was there. Its fine proportions wholly apparent.
>
> Later we went inside the house. Saw the different rooms on the ground floor. All the wallpaper was gone. Has been replaced by whitewash which, of course, changes the whole note of the interior but one can see the style of the rooms with their low ceilings and French windows. The upstairs has been cleaned out. All the rooms quite empty, with wall paper washed off. However one can see there the charm of the upper rooms. I could see them, of course, in terms of the wallpaper that was on them and how the place looked in my father's and mother's day.
>
> ...One could also see the class of woodwork, etc. Fortunately the sun was shining through the windows and one could see the wealth of sunlight which came in that side of the house. I remember vividly how my father used to be writing poetry as well as working on his law cases way on into the night. I could see too what a tremendous influence that environment must have had on my thought and imagination.
>
> ...I walked up the old lovers' lane, one side of which was all gone and could be restored. To the top of the garden which looked quite natural and also up the hill where we used to camp at times and spend Sunday evening. The lives of the trees seemed as familiar as if it had been yesterday. Of course there were the ugly gashes of the railroad but this could be concealed. One could still recall and trace the path which made a short cut home across the field at the end of a day at school. What pleased me most was the real delight I felt at seeing the place restored as much as it was and its possibilities as a park. I have even come to feel that I would like to see the house restored as far as possible, as it was.[42]

King had come to Kitchener with the feeling that he "would strongly advocate the tearing down of the house and using some of the brick for a cairn and the restoration of the grounds as a park." But, instead, he wanted it rebuilt with some of the rooms done over as they had been in the past. Afraid that he no longer had old friends in Kitchener to care for the place, he was impressed with the genuine feeling of friendship and affection shown by Breithaupt and the others with him and on the part of their fellow citizens and realized that a memorial of the kind proposed was worthwhile.[43]

Kitchener and its environs responded to the homecoming of the prime minister. To stimulate regional enthusiasm for the Woodside project, the local committee planned an itinerary for Mackenzie King in connection with the visit to his old home. Unfortunately, one group of people was missed and Harold Wagner advised King of it:

> You will recall that after we left Linwood we were on our way to Kingwood, but time prevented you from going on. Louis Breithaupt, Jr. and I went on and found a large group of your friends. There were many of the old Amish men present, with their long beards nicely trimmed and their wives specially dressed, having on their white bonnets. Also in attendance were a fair number of school children. The group was naturally greatly disappointed and accepted, with some reluctance, our explanation. It is unfortunate that we left this visit to the last, particularly in view of the fact that the four corners have your name. Perhaps a letter from you to Mr. Ab. Siegner, R.R. No. 2, Wellesley, our Executive Member, would help them understand the situation, particularly in view of the fact that we gave them advance notice of our plans to include Kingwood in our trip.[44]

Encouraged by the interest shown by the local committee, King, on his return to Ottawa, began to correspond with some of its members. He expressed gratitude to Harold Wagner for what he and the others had done, but added:

> Whether it might be necessary to rebuild the entire house on the present site to make anything durable enough to serve the purpose the recently formed Foundation has in mind, is something that will require careful consideration. Rebuilding or reconstruction in part is fortunately possible from what remains at present.[45]

To provide the local committee with a better perception of what Woodside had been, King sent Wagner a reprinted photograph of the front of the house.[46] Included in it were members of the King family, the buckboard and "Old Bill." While touring Woodside, King had recounted to Watson a drive he had taken with his parents to Doon to meet Watson's uncle, Homer. With reference to the conversation, King pointed out that: "The phaeton and the horse which appear in the picture are the ones which were used for the drive on that occasion."[47]

In early 1948 a contractor was asked to examine the homestead. In his opinion the bulk of the brickwork was in good condition and the remainder could be repaired. He saw no need to tear down the house and believed the annex could be replaced without any trouble while retaining all the architectural lines indicated.[48]

Louis St. Laurent, who was to succeed Mackenzie King as prime minister visited Kitchener on March 24, 1948, and on April 29, 1948 it was announced that the plan to preserve King's boyhood home was reviewed.[49] With King having announced his intention to retire in that year, the committee believed that objections to the project because of political connotations should have been eliminated. However, even after King had retired he was still uncomfortable with the situation.

> ...If the purpose of the project is not to be misunderstood, it should owe its origin and development as it thus far has, wholly to others, and neither directly nor indirectly to myself.[50]

In deference to King's concern the committee decided to delay the project until after the election of 1949.[51]

By November of 1949 the local committee was once again able to proceed. The decision was made to tear the building down and to rebuild it with the old bricks. The architectural firm of Jenkins and Wright which provided its services for out-of-pocket expenses was engaged in measuring the rooms and preparing a report. Prime Minister St. Laurent had been approached regarding enlisting the support of the government in the upkeep. Breithaupt was confident that enough money to cover the rehabilitation process could be raised. Furthermore, the committee wanted some definite word from Mackenzie King and Jennie Lay regarding the furniture and the library at Woodside.[52]

Mackenzie King corresponded with his sister and made her aware of what the total Woodside plan entailed. He offered to purchase any of the furnishings connected with their old home that Jennie felt prepared to part with. For his part, he intended to donate all that he had which included the piano, the dining room suite, a bedroom suite and some paintings.[53]

Of more immediate consequence, King asked Jenny to supply the architects with a diagram that would enable them to reconstruct the back part of the house as accurately as possible. Having spent three hours with the architects, King recounted what he recollected of that wing and asked for her confirmation of it. He was unsure of the number of doors that opened off the kitchen but, strangely, recalled a dumbwaiter in the pantry, a feature never included in the measured drawings, and a small brick addition at the side used for ashes. He also asked her to indicate where different articles were placed in the various rooms to assist those who would be refurnishing the house.[54]

By December 1, 1949 Jenkins and Wright were able to report to King their progress to date.

> The present state at Woodside is this: We have removed and stored the stair handrails, newels, balusters, sections of the decorative fascia boards at the eaves and some sash which were in good shape. We have had sections cut through all door and window frames, baseboards, mouldings, etc. and have stored these so that new frames etc. can be made to match. The house itself has been boarded up for protection during the winter. We were also able to dig out the foundation walls for the original kitchen which you so vividly described to us. We have also found a few samples of the original wallpaper which we are preserving.
>
> We are now revising our drawings to include all information which we have secured and as soon as this work has been completed we will send you prints of same for your comments.[55]

King was delighted with the meticulous attention paid to details. But, in the manner of a perfectionist, he still sought to provide proof of what the demolished portion of the house had been like. He informed Jenkins that his sister was searching for a drawing of Woodside made by Harry Lay at the time the Kings moved to Toronto.[56]

Harry Lay's drawing was never located. However, Jennie Lay provided Mackenzie King with a plan of the kitchen and back wing of the house and, subsequently, of the downtairs and upstairs with the position of stoves, furniture and pictures. From those, Jenkins and Wright were able to draw up furniture plans. Too, they began to check the type of hardware used before 1900 for the doors.[57] King scrupulously examined Jennie's work, the details of which refreshed his memory. Where King thought there had been a dumbwaiter in the pantry, Jennie showed a cupboard which, according to King, "was an old cupboard that used to be in the nursey of the house in which my parents lived for a short time on Margaret Street before moving out to Woodside. My Mother had used it then for linen." He also recalled that the maid's room had been two rooms and "that one door may have been closed while we were there."[58] King was thrilled with Jennie's contribution and believed that, because of their joint effort, "The House, as restored, will be really more a memorial to Father and Mother than anything else."[59]

Jenkins and Wright consulted Mackenzie King about the measured drawings made of the different elevations of the house and of the rooms. He commented on several details, among them that the porch, as tentatively set out, was too wide and that the benches on either side "may have been simply a long plank, like the lid of a box or trunk." Also, he pointed out that in his father's day, the single window on the wall of the library was blocked off by a bookcase which covered the end of the room. Furthermore, he was undecided about whether the brick walls in the verandah enclosure should be plastered over, or whitewashed as they were in some areas, and had been in his day. He realized that the plastering afforded extra light but believed the whitewash on the wall that projected out to the road had been a mistake and "the brick at least should have remained as it was up as far as the verandah." Too, he had difficulty in recalling the position of the chimneys and hoped they would become evident from what remained in the foundation.[60] Those were King's last comments on Woodside but they, in themselves, were sufficient.

Concomitant to the work done in planning for the actual restoration, progress was being made in organizing for its financial arrangements. In March 1950 Kenneth Sims presented an application for a charter of the Mackenzie King Woodside Trust. Permission was asked to use King's name, which he granted, and to begin a general canvas.[61] The charter bylaws were approved by the secretary of state on April 8, 1950. Nine directors replaced the provincial directors and they included L. Breithaupt, president; J. Ken. Sims, vice-president; James Macdonald, secretary-treasurer; Mel. Moffat; Will C. Barrie; Hon. Ross Macdonald; J. Harper Schofield; John Watson; and H. Wagner. It was decided that fifty patrons would be chosen.[62]

Shortly after the formal organization of the trust, Mackenzie King died and the directors actively engaged themselves in making the project as successful as he had wanted it to be. A bank loan of $5000 was granted from the Bank of Nova Scotia and the decision was reached to begin demolition of the house, salvaging the brick and as much other material as possible. Furthermore, it was decided the reconstructed house should have a full basement, as recommended by the architects, rather than the original small cellar.[63] Breithaupt, Wagner, Watson and J. Macdonald formed the financial committee and the campaign goal was set for a minimum of $150,000. Typing was done at cost by the Mutual Life Insurance Company in Kitchener. Initial expenses included $600 for cleaning and piling the bricks and reimbursement to The Breithaupt Leather Company for its outlay in the purchase price for the property from Jacob Bush and the operating costs that followed. The property was to be transferred to the Mackenzie King Woodside Trust and because of quickly escalating expenses, W. Barrie and J. Schofield believed that the publicity release should begin immediately.[64]

To complement the furnishings donated to Woodside by Mackenzie King and Jennie Lay, period furniture was purchased from Mrs. Geneva Jackson for $890. Ball Brothers had demolished the old house, and the plans for reconstruction of the new one were authorized and tenders opened in February 1951.[65] The following month, Breithaupt and Schofield met with the literary executors of the King estate in Ottawa and were given many items of Kitchener interest. It was suggested that a branch library be established in the building at Woodside. Too, they met with the National Liberal Association and arranged for the use of 60,000 addressograph plates for a mailing list and the translation of a letter into French for circulation in Quebec.[66]

With Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent as honourary chairman, and C.D. Howe, Premier Leslie Frost and John G. Diefenbaker as patrons, the trust got considerable newspaper coverage.[67] But despite the recognition of the project by those national figures, most of the work was done locally in the Kitchener-Waterloo area by the originators. Because Parliament was considering the disposition of Laurier House and Kingsmere at the time, it was decided that no attempt should be made to have Woodside designated as a national historic site. The Speaker of the House of Commons felt some feature of local interest should be connected with the Woodside project, and so J.K. Sims proposed a room be designated for the use of the Waterloo Historical Society or in which to display paintings from the National Art Gallery.[68]

There were other unanticipated problems, some rather costly. The Harry Wunder Construction Company which had been awarded the contract for the reconstruction encountered and resolved difficulties with quicksand and water drainage on the site.[69] To meet the costs, H. Wagner mailed out 45,000 circular letters asking for contributions.[70] But publicity had not been widespread and, therefore, the trust utilized the services of P. Kelly of Cockfield Brown and Company and a Mr. Hindmarsh of *The Star*. At the beginning of 1952, the trust lost the services of L. Breithaupt who was appointed lieutenant-governor of Ontario. J. Harper Schofield replaced Breithaupt as president of the trust and secured for the project the support and interest of Professor Fred Landon, chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.[71]

To make provision for caretaker's quarters, Jenkins and Wright were forced to change the plans of the kitchen wing as approved by

Mackenzie King. To accomplish that goal, the pitch of the roof was raised to accommodate a dormer and the fifth chimney was excluded to allow for a window in the loft. Irvine Skerritt, a war veteran, was hired as caretaker-custodian. (Under Parks Canada, Skerritt was rehired and became superintendent of Woodside.) The additional costs to the trust were $822 for the changes in the kitchen wing and $3272 for the construction of a gallery in the basement. It was left to the directors to do the canvassing in the whole Kitchener-Waterloo region because the people engaged to do the publicity and fund raising had fallen short of expectations. Too, Wagner and Schofield went to Ottawa to negotiate with Professor Landon and Colonal C.G. Childe to try to obtain artifacts for Woodside from the King estate.[72]

Although all the directors of the trust worked diligently to recreate Woodside, Harold Wagner became the central figure following the departure of Louis Breithaupt. His friendship with Jennie Lay was productive, gaining for Woodside considerable additional detail and artifacts. Perhaps the friendship was based upon the fact that Mrs. Wagner had been introduced to Mackenzie King when her father, Dr. Honsberger, promoted King's political career in Berlin. On that occasion, Mrs. Wagner was the child selected to present Sir Wilfrid Laurier with a bouquet of flowers.[73]

Jennie Lay had not been as enchanted by the Woodside project as Mackenzie King was. When Wagner first approached her directly, she admitted that she had informed F.A. McGregor, the literary executor of the King estate, that she didn't want to put her furniture into another house. But, she added, because Woodside was "an accomplished thing I was going to do everything possible to make it as like our old home as it could be."[74]

Wagner arranged for Jennie Lay to visit Woodside on July 19, 1952. Accompanied by her son and daughter-in-law and Mr. McGregor, Jennie Lay was won over. McGregor informed Wagner afterwards, "Mrs. Lay, who was the only one of course who knew the old place, was greatly impressed by the faithfulness of the reproduction as well as by the excellent taste shown in all the arrangements."[75] There followed a correspondence between Jennie Lay and H. Wagner which contributed much to the authenticity of the reconstructed Woodside. Intrigued with the possibilities of what the Trust envisioned, she wrote:

> ...As to the furnishings of the house I am not an *artist*, but if you have any plans of the rooms, I could fill in the position of the different articles of furniture, tell as far as possible the color of paper and carpets etc....
>
> The Happy Thought stove will be quite at home in the kitchen! Has it a hot water compartment on the back?!! As soon as I return to Barrie, I shall try to find samples of the material for the curtains etc., but will be in Kingsmere till September, ...
>
> May go to Laurier House some day, I will take a look around!
>
> As soon as I return, I shall also try the Ice Box cake recipe, but know it will neither look nor taste like the delicious confection we had at "Woodside."[76]

Despite Mackenzie King's wishes, the trust had great difficulty collecting the furniture used by the King family at Woodside. Jennie Lay was to provide the suite for the master bedroom in addition to several other small articles. The Chickering piano that was in the study at Laurier House was to go to Woodside. But, according to Mrs. Lay, the trust was "not getting things that Mr. King intended we should." She referred to several tables, one of which has a marble top, that she definitely ear-marked for Woodside. Because $100,000 was being spent, the directors decided to make a strong appeal to obtain the articles so that the house would "look right, in keeping with the times."[77] Jenny Lay was asked to try "to influence those at Laurier House" to release those items.[78]

In September 1952 furniture for Woodside arrived, having been sent from the Lays, from Mooreside, and Laurier House.[79] Mr. MacGregor shipped 356 books and included two curling stones that had been given to the prime minister in 1935 by Mr. D. Forsyth of Beamsville. Apparently Mr. Forsyth had used those particular stones when he curled with John King at the old Berlin rink.[80] What was missing, however, was the Chickering piano, for which a substitute had been sent. Although certain that Mrs. Lay would be disappointed with that arrangement, the directors of Woodside decided against making an issue of it for "the piano we received will serve its purpose and we can say that it came out of the King Estate."[81]

H. Wagner persisted in the quest to obtain further authentic furnishings and personal items that definitely belonged to Woodside. He wrote to Mr. J.E. Handy at Laurier House asking for his co-operation. He asked specifically for a box of pipes that had belonged to John King and which Mackenzie King had kept in his library.[82] In reply, Handy wrote:

> As you know, I am besieged from all quarters for souvenirs from "Laurier House" and Kingsmere, and feel I must follow a definite rule. It is possible that years hence, Laurier House may serve a double purpose - that of a Museum, and also a sort of "Blair House" for distinguished visitors - with remaining rooms now used as offices, opened to the public. While this is not yet a matter of definite government policy, it is a possibility I have to keep in mind and must plan accordingly. I must also replace from "Laurier House" to Kingsmere other pieces of furniture sent from the Farm house to Woodside. Already I have supplied some furnishings as well to "Mackenzie House", Toronto, and I assure you it is not an easy matter to keep the proper balance and take a long range view of future requirements.[83]

In October 1952 Jennie Lay was invited to Woodside by the trust to examine the completed project. In a manner similar to that her brother had experienced in 1947, Jennie Lay walked into the past.

> She proceeded eagerly from room to room, upstairs and down, with many exclamations of pleasure on the furnishings which are in most cases "the same as they used to be." She paused often to point out the pieces of furniture, articles of chinaware or pictures which had been part of the old home and which brought back special memories. A large silver coffee pot, a whist table, father's desk or mother's washstand were viewed affectionately.[84]

With its goal almost accomplished, it seemed the days of the "Mackenzie King Woodside Trust" were drawing to a close. At a meeting on September 11, 1952, the members were advised, through a letter from Colonel C.G. Childe:

> ...that the Historic Sites & Monuments Board of Canada had declared "Woodside", the boyhood home of the Right Honorable W.L. Mackenzie King, of national historic importance and recommended to the Department of Resources & Development that it be acquired and established a National Historic Park.[85]

In the following months, effort was expended to clean up all unfinished business and to clear the debt. There was a decision to launch a new campaign to collect a further $16,000 to meet liabilities, and to approach the T. Eaton Company or the Robert Simpson Company to donate draperies. Stephen Jones offered to raise $10,000 locally and $15,000 nationally, with 5 per cent compensation for himself and $100 for expenses. In addition, a Donor's Book or Book of Rememberence was to be established and kept at Woodside and in which those who contributed $10 were to be listed.[86]

To attract more local support for Woodside, Stephen Jones suggested co-operation with the Pennsylvania German Society. Early in 1953, this society desperately required a place to house exhibits of historical value to the original German settlers. It was thought that the Woodside Trust might be interested in providing a location, "possibly the site of the barn that was once on the property, a short distance from the house" where the society, in collaboration with the Waterloo Historical Society, might erect a structure to display articles of household or farm use from the period of the early settlers. The directors of the trust were favourably disposed to the suggestion, provided there was no additional cost to the trust for the building, contents or upkeep. But, before any action could be taken, approval and consent had to be obtained from the Historical Sites and Monuments Board of Canada so that there would be no obstacle in transferring the ownership to the Department of Resources and Development.[87]

However, at a meeting on May 8, 1953, the members of the trust concurred that they did not have the authority to proceed with such drastic changes as would be involved if the Pennsylvania German Society were included in the project at that stage, chiefly because contributions had been made for the specific purpose of honouring Mackenzie King. Once the property was taken over by the government, the society should approach them with their proposal.[88] But the transition was a slow process. In November 1953 the decision was reached to re-elect the present directors so that the transfer of the trust to the government would be more readily facilitated when it came about. They included J.H. Schofield, J.K. Sims, J. Mel. Moffat, Will C. Barrie, John R. Watson, Albert E. Dunker, Russell Daly, Harold W. Wagner, and James Macdonald. L. Breithaupt retained an honourary position.[89]

At a meeting on March 9, 1954, the directors were advised by letter from the Honourable Jean Lesage, minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, that the Federal Government had decided to accept the offer of the trust to transfer title to the Woodside property to Her Majesty in right of Canada. Mr. Lesage enclosed a copy of the order in council authorizing the acceptance and stated that his department wished to take over the property on April 1, 1954, and to establish it as a National Historic Park.[90] At the same meeting it was decided that two directors should approach F. MacGregor and E. Handy in a personal visit to Ottawa to see what further furniture and books could be made available to Woodside. At the same time, the directors appointed to go to Ottawa were to see "the curator of the Art Gallery, regarding the pictures belonging to Kitchener." Tentative discussion had been held regarding the transfer of those pictures to Woodside, and the directors were to ensure the arrangements were followed.[91]

The Woodside house and property were transferred to the name of Her Majesty, the Queen, on March 19, 1954.[92] J.H. Schofield and J. Macdonald, the two directors appointed to go to Ottawa, met with the Honourable C.D. Howe and the Honourable Jean LeSage and discussed matters pertaining to that transaction. But they were not as successful in their visit with E. Handy and F. MacGregor at Laurier House. They were shown books and pictures, most of which were not considered appropriate for Woodside. Among the few acceptable items was a marble bust of the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King. Mr. Handy explained that no additional furniture could be donated to Woodside as everything had been listed and included in the transfer of Laurier House to the Government of Canada. Nor did they meet with success at the National Art Gallery. In an interview with Mr. McCurrie, curator of the National Art Gallery, the directors learned that the paintings they had hoped to obtain for Woodside had been donated to the gallery in 1943 by the Kitchener group of ladies who had acquired them. The trustees of the National Art Gallery did not have the power to turn government property over to the Woodside Trust and nothing further could be done, although the position might be altered once Woodside became the property of the government.[93]

However, MacGregor advised H. Wagner:

> In going through some of the unhung pictures at Laurier House, Mr. Handy came across a framed address which the Canadian Press Association presented to "John King, M.A., Q.C.", in January 1895. You already have the painted portrait of Mr. King's father which the C.P.A. presented at the same time. Mr. Handy thought you might like to have this related piece - so it is being shipped, in a separate package.[94]

Breithaupt, too, had used what influence he could to obtain funds for Woodside, particularly for the Art Gallery and Cultural Center. He had written Mr. Hindmarsh and asked for a donation of $5000 from the Atkinson Foundation to be used for finishing the gallery and purchasing a few good paintings. But the directors of the Woodside Trust learned that:

> He (Mr. Breithaupt) had since received a letter from Mr. Hindmarsh, stating that the Trustees for the Atkinson Foundation had some doubt as to the Woodside project coming within their scope, but that he enclosed a cheque for $5,000.00 from the Toronto Star to be used for finishing the Art Gallery at "Woodside" and providing some paintings for it, such paintings to be approved by a *competent party*.[95]

Between 1950 and 1954, the Woodside Trust had collected $81,903.64 from over 450 donors with the largest contributions coming from L. Breithaupt, W.P. Zeller, the J.W. McConnell Foundation, The Toronto Star, and the city of Kitchener.[96] One of the last acts the trust performed was an attempt to secure paintings for Woodside. At their meeting on January 28, 1955, the directors were informed L. Breithaupt had had two interviews with Mr. McCurrie who confirmed that the trustees of the National Art Gallery could not hand over to Woodside the paintings desired. However, they were favourable to sending them out on loan to Woodside for display there in addition to other masterpieces of art from the gallery's surplus, a practice followed in connection with other similar historic sites. At Breithaupt's request on behalf of the directors who were in a position to pay, Mr. McCurrie consented to assist in the selection and purchase of specific paintings for Woodside. The cost was not to exceed $4,500.[97]

On February 28, 1955 the bank account of the Woodside Mackenzie King Trust was transferred to J. Harper Schofield and J. Macdonald. The final disbursements were to be made out of the $6857.74 remaining in the account to cover the cost of out-of-pocket expenses and finishing the basement and gallery, and then closed. The charter was surrendered and, with a vote of thanks to L. Breithaupt for his service and contribution, the period of the trust ended.[98]

The eras of the trust and the Federal Government merged with considerable ease and co-operation. The trust was allowed to complete its original program and the federal authorities were able to inspect the property, to plan and organize the necessary steps to make Woodside a National Park and Historic Site.

In May 1952 Professor Fred Landon visited the Woodside property, reporting on it to the National Sites Board and recommending that it be acquired. In Landon's view:

> To me, the function of this place apart from its association with Mr. King would be to illustrate the life of the mid-19th century. We have museums all over Ontario filled with pioneer materials of all kinds, Kitchener itself having one of the best, but we have nothing that I know of which portrays the intermediate period. Our children know much about pioneer life and customs but they know little if anything of the life that was lived by their great-grandparents.[99]

However, no provision had been made in the budgetary estimates for 1952-53 to allow for the acquisition and supervision of Woodside. But on January 14, 1954 the Privy Council accepted the property on the recommendation of the Ministry of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and it was entrusted to the National Parks Branch of that department,[100] later to become Parks Canada.

A survey of the property was made to prepare a topographical plan. It showed that the description in the deed was sound except for minor details in the northwest corner where some alterations occurred because of the gravel road which occupied the right-of-way of the old Bridgeport Street Railway. Beyond what the trust was able to gain of the original Woodside property, Parks Canada, following negotiations as late as 1973, was able to re-acquire the Brett property and house on the southwest corner of the original estate. To date, however, the northwest corner is still in private hands.[101]

Work on the general environment began in 1955 with landscaping, draining a pond and filling, especially in the area along Spring Valley Road where, in the King period, there had been a cedar swamp and stream. It was decided to retain, rather than sell, the triangular piece of land acquired across Spring Valley Road. To recreate a semblance of the past, it was suggested that a cement lily pond be constructed, flower beds be planted in the lawns, lilac bushes near the house and Virginia creeper along the house, and that the possibilities of reconstructing the circular drive be explored. Arrangements were made to cut out the dead trees, provide tree surgery for diseased trees and to begin some regenerative planting. Over time the property was fenced, the winding entrance road was straightened, a garage was built and an exit road created to Spring Valley Road. To accommodate the public, a parking lot, entrance walks, signposts and benches were provided.[102]

With the house open to the public, a new furnace had to be obtained. What was intended as the art gallery became a lecture room and was utilized by the Kitchener Stamp Club and the local drama group. Visitors were coming to look, but there remained much to be done to attract the numbers desired, for the house was rather barren. In 1956 a preliminary inventory of the furniture acquisitions under the period of the trust and to date was compiled and a copy of the listing was sent to Mr. John Downton of the interior decorating department of the Robert Simpson Company in anticipation of constructive criticism. Later, O.T. Fuller prepared a list of antique dealers who might be utilized as resources.[103]

It was 1961, however, before a consolidation was made of the various inspections that had occurred. O.T. Fuller consulted with Mrs. Jeanne Minhinnick of Upper Canada Village and subsequently submitted a report of his criticism of the reconstructed Woodside. In it, he commented that the house had a cold and institutional appearance, especially as viewed from the front door. The entry way, kitchen and pantry were all floored with modern inlaid linoleum, emphatically not Victorian. Too, he believed some question must be raised about the other floor painted brick red, even though that "according to Mr. Skerritt, was done upon the advice of Mrs. Lay, Mr. King's sister, and may well be a true representation of the originals." In Fuller's evaluation that decision required further research, for he did not believe floors in a Victorian house would have been treated in that way. To him, the choice of floor coverings in the dining room and library were inconsistent with the character of the house in its presumed Victorian style, as, to a lesser extent, were the wallpaper, drapes and curtains, with the result that not a single room reflected the characteristic dark and heavy-patterned effect of the late Victorian era. With the exception of the drawing room, and probably because of its excellent proportions, Fuller found the house grossly underfurnished. Moreover, he observed:

> Furniture now in place is, except in a few instances, mis-matched; in some cases it is of inferior quality; some is quite "wrong" for the house; and one or two pieces are frankly atrocious. Instances of the above charges are, in order: only in one bedroom surely and in another possibly, are there furniture sets of the same pattern; the Dining Room table is of either ash or elm, a poor wood, and is unimaginative in design; the gilded mahogany chairs of Louis XVI style used in the Dining Room are both too early and too fine; and a Savaranola chair in the Study and a square, leather-upholstered chair of apparent early 20th century vintage in the Dining Room are both ugly and disruptive.
>
> Beyond all this, there must be some question as to whether some of the furniture, even though it may have been at one time the property of Mackenzie King, was ever in the family's possession at the time of their occupancy of Woodside.[104]

Fuller's report was accompanied by recommendations. Primarily, he emphasized the priority of the need for a decision on policy regarding the development of Woodside as either an "historical" restoration or a "period" restoration. Was Woodside to be made a shrine to W.L. Mackenzie King, the boy and man, or was it to be an exemplary reflection of the late Victorian period? If the former approach was to be decided upon, Fuller recommended that emphasis be placed upon obtaining as many authentic pieces of W.L. Mackenzie King memorabilia as possible, regardless of the period of his life from which they were drawn and even though it was contradictory to over-all policy related to museum development. In his mind, the restoration of Woodside simply as a "period" piece was scarcely justified. He believed that the character of the King family should be reflected in Woodside as far as possible. If, on the other hand, it was decided to make Woodside a "period" restoration, it would involve considerable research and the expenditure of a substantial sum to identify authentic King properties. That could be accomplished over a period of years by following a series of several steps. The first step, in Fuller's recommendation, should incorporate the suggestion made by Mr. Bishapric concerning the development of approaches to and immediately surrounding areas of the site, staying within the framework of authenticity and probability.

> Fullest possible development, at once, of four interior areas: A. the Entry Way; B.

> the Hall; C. the Kitchen; and D. the Pantry. This development should include: (I) Covering of floors in all areas as closely and correctly as can be determined, and as consistently as possible with their purpose and the demands of a Victorian home. (Thus, it would be possible to postpone the considerable expenditure entailed in replacing linoleum floors and in refinishing other floors if that were believed to be essential). (II) Full furnishing of each area, down to the least detail of accessories, bearing in mind that the Victorian Home - and especially the *late*-Victorian home - was *over*-furnished: that walls were virtually obscured from floor to ceiling by pictures, bric-a-brac, and draperies, and that the prevailing colours were dark, the feeling dour and somewhat oppressive to modern eyes. (This does not apply to the kitchen, although both here and in the pantry the addition of dark rugs and dark curtains of lightweight materials will tend to re-create the proper atmosphere).[105]

Woodside was closed to the public while it underwent further restoration intended to present the appearance of a late-Victorian home which had been occupied by the King family. Fuller had been granted the authority to purchase the necessary antiques, and arrangements were made for him to work in conjunction with Mrs. Jeanne Minhinnick who acted in an advisory capacity. A survey was done of the existing furnishings and plans formulated for what was required for each room. In keeping with authenticity, the lighting and cupboards installed relative to the 1920s were to be removed.[106] According to the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*:

> The intimate details of late 19th century furnishings from calendars to cooking utensils, are now being sought by Mrs. Minhinnick.
>
> She already has acquired many carpets, portieres, bedspreads, cushions, china, folding screens, tabourets and other significant articles of furnishing which emphasize the period. She said she will welcome suggestions for the location of other such furnishings.[107]

In addition, Peter John Stokes, the restoration architect, was employed to survey the property and to make recommendations. He supplied considerable detail on mouldings, cupboards, staircases and shelving.[108]

Woodside was reopened in May 1962. And with the photographing and cataloguing of the artifacts, the preparation of a booklet, the hiring of guides and the installation of an audio-visual facility and exhibits in the basement, Woodside became a functional historic site.[109]

Woodside was saved from demolition because William Lyon Mackenzie King had lived there as a boy. The members of the North Waterloo Liberal Association wanted to honour one of their most successful native sons and recognized that the restoration of Woodside was the means to accomplish the goal. Not fully aware of the importance of Woodside to the King family, their interaction with Mackenzie King unearthed the romantic appeal it held for him. By proceeding with the restoration, the trust fulfilled one of King's last wishes - that Woodside live again as it had in his father's day.

Conclusion

John King, the father of William Lyon Mackenzie King, had an interesting career. His contribution to law in Canada was deserving of merit but, unfortunately, has long been forgotten, overshadowed by the political success of his son. Of more serious consequence, perhaps, were the various misconceptions that arose concerning his relationship with his son. Quite clearly the emphasis placed on the relationship of Isabel King with her son has been distorted, a phenomenon that developed in Mackenzie King's middle age. There has been no attempt in this work to diminish the affection that existed between mother and son - instead, an attempt to place John King in the more accurate position he deserves.

It was in the library at Woodside that the early thrust to social idealism and service to mankind was initiated. John King was the motivating force in the development of his children's minds. It was he who imbued them with the pride in their maternal grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie. What began at Woodside continued, for Mackenzie King sought his father's advice and respect. It was not until Mackenzie King's own life was ending that he admitted the true relationship between himself and his father.

Woodside never had a romantic appeal to the inhabitants of Kitchener. That was exclusive to the Kings. Perhaps because of the sadness that followed their departure from it, it became the "House of Dreams," the perfection of an earlier age. Only the vision of a group of professional and business men who formed the Woodside Trust saved it from obliteration. Following reconstruction, they turned the property over to the Federal Government and, under Parks Canada, Woodside lives again as it had in John King's time, the ultimate wish of Mackenzie King.

Interviews (Aug.-Sept. 1981)

Mr. W. Berry, Cambridge, Ontario
Mr. F. Breithaupt, Kitchener, Ontario
Mrs. W. Buss, Kitchener, Ontario
Mrs. Emily Finney, Kitchener, Ontario
Miss Florence Mueller, Kitchener, Ontario
Mrs. Olivia Schmuck, Kitchener, Ontario
Mrs. Marcia Schofield-Heimrich, Kitchener, Ontario
Miss Dorothy Shoemaker, Kitchener, Ontario
Mr. W. Shoemaker, Paisley, Ontario
Mr. I. Skerritt, Kitchener, Ontario
Mr. Harold W. Wagner, Waterloo, Ontario

Endnotes

Woodside: The House of Dreams

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3 Bruce Hutchison, The Incredible Canadian (Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1953) (hereafter cited as The Incredible Canadian), p. 15.

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7 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 20 Nov. 1891.

8 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 29 Nov. 1891.

9 PAC, J7, John King to Willie, 31 Aug. 1894.

10 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 25 Oct. 1896.

11 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 11 Oct. 1896.

12 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, no date, 1896.

13 PAC, J7, Willie to All at Home, 10 Oct. 1897; PAC, J13, William Lyon Mackenzie King Diary, 5 Nov. 1897.

14 PAC, J13, 18 April 1898.

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16 PAC, J7, Willie to All, 12 Dec. 1898.

17 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 15 Dec. 1898.

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19 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, Jan. 1889.

20 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 15 April 1899.

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22 Registry Office, Kitchener (hereafter cited as ROK), Copy of Last Will and Testament of the Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King, 28 Feb. 1950.

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26 Bruce Hutchison, The Incredible Canadian, p. 14.

27 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 15 Dec. 1905.

28 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 21 Dec. 1917.

29 W.L.M. King, Citizenship, An Address Delivered on 4 Aug. 1925 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1925).

30 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 5 March 1930.

31 PAC, J7, Willie to Jennie, 28 Nov. 1927.

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John King's Berlin

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3 "President's Address," WHS (1922), pp. 202-6; J.F. Carmichael, "A History of St. Andrew's Church, Kitchener," WHS (1946), pp. 23-29; W.V. Uttley, History of Kitchener, pp. 72-73, 83-84, 86, 117-18, 120-21, 216, 237; J. Stroh, "Reminiscences of Berlin (now Kitchener)," WHS (1930), pp. 175-205.

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35 Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 5 March 1974.

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John King's Career: A Consciousness of Purpose

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3 Ibid.; J13, 8 July 1899.

4 Ibid.

5 PAC, J7, "'Maitre' John King Q.C., M.A. Father of The Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King," unsigned ms.

6 "Death of Mr. D. McDougall," Berlin Telegraph (Kitchener), 31 Aug. 1894.

7 PAC, J7, W.L. Mackenzie King to L. Breithaupt, 21 Sept 1944.

8 PAC, J7, Article, "John King," A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography. Representative Canadians (Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1886), pp. 156-158; PAC, J7, various unsigned manuscripts on the life of John King; "Death of John King Esq., Eminent Law Lecturer," Newmarket Era (Newmarket, Ontario), 1 Sept. 1916.

9 Ibid.

10 PAC, J7, "In the Matter of the Estate of William Lyon Mackenzie Deceased."

11 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 20 May 1949.

12 PAC, J13, 5 Nov. 1895.

13 PAC, J7, Harriet MacNicol to Donald MacNicol, received by Mackenzie King, 14 Dec. 1936.

14 Ibid.

15 PAC, J13, 22 April 1900.

16 PAC, J7, Birth Certificates of King children. These indicate places of birth. There is no available description of homes on King and Margaret Streets; PAC, King Photograph Collection, C55534, Mackenzie King at the Benton Street House in 1922.

17 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 8 Dec. 1891.

18 PAC, J7, J. King to Willie, 3 Aug. 1888.

19 PAC, J14, John King Correspondence, W.W. Lairn (?) to J. King, 25 Aug. 1842. This letter to John King's father was typical of the religious discussions held by the King family.

20 PAC, J14, "Address of The Carrier Boy of The Berlin Telegraph" for Boxing Day, various years from 1865 to 1885.

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26 M. Miller, Homer Watson. The Man of Doon (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1938), p. 25.

27 PAC, J7, Bella to Mama, 10 March 1884; W. Kingsford to J. King, 26 Oct. 1893; PAC, J13, 8 Sept. 1893; 7 July 1899.

28 PAC, J7, "Brief Note on the Life of John King, Q.C.," newspaper article, undated.

29 A.W. Connor, "James W. Connor B.A. 1843-1929," WHS (1929), pp. 153-158; Conversation with Olivia Schmuck, Kitchener, Sept. 1981; PAC, J13, 1903-12.

30 PAC, J14, J.L. Colquhoun to Isabel King, 25 Sept. 1916.

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32 PAC, J13, 9 Sept. 1947.

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40 PAC, J7, particularly J. King to Willie, 8 Oct. 1892; Willie to Mother and Father, 18 Oct. 1891.

41 PAC, J7, ms. "John King, M.A., Q.C."

42 PAC, J14, J. King to Willie, 7 April 1890; Bursar to J. King, 30 Nov. 1915; W. Mulock to J. King, 4 May 1896; Ontario, Public Archives (hereafter cited as POA), D7, Educational Papers, J. King to G. Ross, 4 Oct. 1889, 12 Oct. 1895, 10 March 1890.

43 PAC, J14, John King's Newspaper Files; Book Lists.

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45 Ibid.

46 PAC, J14, in the press announcements for "The Law of Slander and Libel in Canada" and "The Law of Defamation in Canada."

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48 PAC, J14, collected extracts, reviews and clippings: John King, "The Law of Libel," The Empire, 3 Feb. 1894; "In Memoriam John King, M.A., K.C.," University Monthly (Toronto, Nov. 1916, pp. 59-60; A. Black to J. King, 3 July 1899 - Memo chosen to be recorded in H.J. Morgan, ed. The Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto: William Briggs, n.d.), and PAC, J7, A. Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography. Representative Canadians, pp. 156-58; A.F. Pirie to J. King, 24 June 1893; D.S. Forneri to J. King, 17 Aug. 1881.

49 PAC, J14, Draft letter to James J. Foy, M.P.P.

50 PAC, J7, J. King to Willie, 1891.

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52 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 5 April 1915.

53 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 7 April 1914 and 1 June 1914.

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The Victorian Family of John King

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2 PAC, J14, clipping files of Isabel King.

3 Toronto Star, 9 May 1938.

4 Ibid.

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9 PAC, J7, Willie to Jennie, 12 Jan. 1938.

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11 PAC, J13, 14 Sept. 1947.

12 PAC, J13, 18 Sept. 1947.

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20 PAC, J7, Max to Willie, Jan. 1892, 8 Feb. 1893, 16 Dec. 1891, 10 March 1892; Bella to Willie, 10 March 1892.

21 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 20 Oct. 1891; Willie to Aunt Libbie, 4 Feb. 1889; Jennie to Father and Mother, 2 Aug. 1888; Jennie to Willie, 15 Jan. 1893; Jennie to Mother, 10 Jan. 1889; Willie to Mama, 2 Sept. 1883.

22 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 20 Oct. 1891, 22 Jan. 1892.

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25 PAC, J14, Copy marked "The Berlin Telegraph," 14 Sept. 1892.

26 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 29 Nov. 1891, 6 Nov. 1899, 25 Jan. 1905.

27 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 2 March 1893.

28 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 12 Feb. 1905. The J7 Series also provides several later examples.

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32 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 2 Jan. 1904.

33 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 1 Nov. 1889. Also numerous letters written at Easter in the J7 and J14 Series.

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35 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 1 Nov. 1896.

36 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 16 Dec. 1891, 15 Jan. 1892, 8 Dec. 1892; Max to Willie, 20 Nov. 1892, 11 Nov. 1892; Bella to Willie, 20 Nov. 1891; Willie to Jennie, 11 Oct. 1891.

37 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 23 Aug. 1894; Mother to Willie, 7 Feb. 1893; Jennie to Mother, no date; Willie to Moma, 10 March 1884; Willie to Aunt Libbie, no date; Bella to Willie, 24 Aug. 1893; J. King to Willie, 3 Aug. 1888, 11 Aug. 1888, 7 April 1890; Jennie to Willie, 14 Sept. 1896; Max to Willie, 30 Nov. 1891; Bella to Mama and Papa, 17 Aug. 1881; Jennie to Mother, 10 Jan. 1889.

38 PAC, J7, John King to Willie, 11 Aug. 1890.

39 PAC, J7, John King to Willie, 7 April 1890.

40 PAC, J7, Max to Willie, 20 Nov. 1891; Willie to J. King, 20 Nov. 1891.

41 PAC, J7, Bella to J. King, 30 Nov. 1886.

42 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 29 Nov. 1891.

43 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 4 Nov. 1891; Bella to Mama and Papa, 17 Aug. 1881.

44 PAC, J7, Max to Papa and Mama, 2 Aug. 1888; Max to Willie, 7 Dec. 1892.

45 PAC, J13, 8 Sept. 1947. The J7 series supplies supportive examples.

46 PAC, J7, Willie to John King, 1 May 1888.

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50 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 20 April 1893.

51 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 1897.

52 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 15 Dec. 1892.

53 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 2 Aug. 1888; Jennie to Willie, 4 Nov. 1891, 15 Jan. 1892, 20 Jan. 1892, 22 Jan. 1892, 16 Feb. 1893, 8 Dec. 1891; Bella to Papa, 17 Aug. 1891.

54 PAC, J7, John King to Willie, 7 April, no date.

55 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 20 April 1893.

56 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 7 Feb. 1893.

57 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, Jan. 1902.

58 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 6 Jan. 1903.

59 "Suddaby School, Formerly Central School, Kitchener," WHS (1943), pp. 238-40; PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 6 Dec. 1888, 3 May 1889, 31 May 1889, 1 Nov. 1889.

60 PAC, J7, Max to Willie, 16 Dec. 1891, 10 March 1892, 17 Dec. 1892, 11 Oct. 1891.

61 H.R. Hardy, Mackenzie King of Canada, p. 17; M. Dunham, Grand River (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1945), p. 230; O.E. McGillicuddy, The Making of a Premier, p. 8.

62 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 31 May 1889; Conversations with Miss Dorothy Shoemaker, Miss Florence Mueller, Mrs. Olivia Schmuck, 19 Aug., 20 Aug., 21 Aug. 1981; H.L. Staebler, "Mackenzie King," WHS (1950), pp. 10-13; Mr. W. Shoemaker (Paisley, Ontario) to M. Nicolson, 27 Oct. 1981.

63 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 31 May 1889.

64 PAC, J7, Max to Willie, 8 Feb. 1891, 3 Nov. 1891; Willie to Mother and Father, 18 Oct. 1891; Jennie to Willie, 4 Nov. 1891; Mother to Willie, 31 Jan. 1892.

65 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 4 Nov. 1891.

66 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 8 Dec. 1891, 1898; Bella to Willie, 31 May 1889, 8 Oct. 1891; Mrs. King to Willie, 25 Oct. 1891.

67 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 4 Nov. 1891. Most biographies of W.L. Mackenzie King emphasize the importance of the library at Woodside and the consequential reading and discussions that took place.

68 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 12 Aug. 1895.

69 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 23 Oct. 1892.

70 PAC, J14, Obituary, undated.

71 PAC, J14, clippings on Lindsay-LeSeur Case; Documents LeSeur Case -Declaration John King 1912. LeSeur had written a biography of William Lyon Mackenzie but was prohibited from publishing it through court action initiated by the descendents of Mackenzie because it was too critical of Mackenzie's career.

72 POA, G.S. Lindsay Correspondence. P. Edgar for Morang Co. to William D. LeSeur.

73 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 18 Oct. 1891.

74 PAC, J7, Bella to Mama and Papa, 17 Aug. 1881.

75 PAC, J7, J. King to Willie, 7 Oct. 1902.

76 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 30 Jan. 1892.

77 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 1 Nov. 1896, 20 Feb. 1893, no date 1896.

78 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, undated.

79 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 22 April 1902.

80 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 8 Nov. 1896.

81 PAC, J7, Jennie to Mother, 10 Jan. 1889.

82 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 25 Oct. 1891.

83 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 12 Dec. 1896.

84 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 29 Jan. 1893; Jennie to Willie, 30 Jan. 1892, 4 Nov. 1891; Bella to Mama, 2 Sept. no date; Willie to Mama, 2 Sept. 1883.

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87 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 21 Jan. 1892.

88 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 31 Jan. 1892.

89 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 30 Jan. 1892.

90 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 8 Aug. 1894.

91 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 22 Jan. 1892, 29 Nov. 1891, 15 Nov. 1896, 15 Jan. 1892, 30 Jan. 1892, 16 Feb. 1893, 29 March 1892; Bella to Willie, 10 March

1892, 29 Nov. 1891, 1 March 1892.

92 Conversations with Mrs. Emily Finney, Kitchener, Ontario, 10 Aug. 1891. Mrs. Finney recalled Mrs. George Buck, Willie's Sunday school teacher, recount the stories of his behaviour while he was her pupil.

93 PAC, J13, 11 Aug. 1947.

94 PAC, J13, 2 Dec. 1947.

95 PAC, J7, Willie to John King, 15 Oct. 1904.

96 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 18 Oct. 1891, 22 Nov. 1891.

97 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 1 March 1892.

98 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 18 Oct. 1891.

99 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 25 Oct. 1891.

100 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 20 Oct. 1891, Aug. 1888, 4 April 1893; Bella to Willie, 15 April 1892.

101 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 14 Sept. 1896.

102 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 27 Aug. 1902.

103 PAC, J7, Max to Mother, 24 Oct. 1906.

104 PAC, J7 series provides numerous examples.

105 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 10 March 1892.

106 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 6 Aug. 1888.

107 PAC, J7, Jennie to Father and Mother, 2 Aug. 1888.

108 PAC, J7, Max to Papa and Mama, 2 Aug. 1888.

109 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 10 March 1892, 29 Nov. 1891; Bella to Willie, 17 Jan. 1889, 20 Jan. 1892; Max to Willie, 16 Dec. 1891, 6 March 1893; J. King to Willie, 3 Aug. 1888.

110 DPV, child's barber chair, Windsor half-back with screw type wooden seat, used in the King home. PAC, J7, Bella to Mama, 10 March 1884.

111 PAC, Photograph Collection, King Collection: C46521, C2856, C7352, C7331, C7354, C46541, C7345, C7348, C55520, photographs of King family members.

112 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 6 Dec. 1888.

113 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 17 April 1892.

114 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 15 Dec. 1892.

115 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 8 Dec. 1892, 10 Oct. 1899; Bella to Willie, 5 Oct. 1896, 25 Oct. 1896, 2 March 1893.

116 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 1 Nov. 1881, 22 Nov. 1891; Bella to Willie, 29 Nov. 1891; Jennie to Willie, 20 Feb. 1893; Max to Willie, 7 Dec. 1892.

117 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 12 Feb. 1892; Mother to Willie, 12 Dec. 1902; Jennie to Willie, 25 Oct. 1896; Bella to Mama and Papa, 17 Aug. 1881; Jennie to Willie, no date, 7 Oct. 1892; University of Waterloo, Archives (hereafter UWA), John King account with Berlin General Store, Ledger 1893.

118 UWA, John King account with Berlin General Store, Ledger 1893.

119 PAC, J14, family recipes.

120 PAC, J7, Royal Luncheon, Sept. 1899.

121 PAC, J13, 3 Oct. 1924.

122 PAC, J7, J. King to Willie, 3 Aug. 1888.

123 PAC, J7, J. King to Willie, 7 April 1890.

124 PAC, J7, J. King to ___, no date 1890.

125 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 20 Oct. 1891, 7 Dec. 1891; Bella to Willie, 4 April 1892.

126 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 20 Jan. 1892.

127 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 20 Jan. 1892.

128 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 13 Jan. 1892.

129 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 12 Feb. 1892.

130 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 10 March 1892.

131 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 1 March 1892.

132 PAC, J7, Mother to All, 1901.

133 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 4 April 1893.

134 PAC, J14, Contract with Mrs. J. King for service.

135 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 19 Aug. 1936.

The Fabric and Environment of Woodside

1 ROK, Map of Part of the Town of Berlin, Township and County of Waterloo, C.W., Surveyed for George John Grange Esq., 1853-54.

2 "Claim King Only Resided Three Years at 'Woodside'," Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 25 Aug. 1944.

3 Ibid.; County of Waterloo Gazetteer for 1877-78.

4 KPL, Berlin, Assessment Roll, 1853.

5 ROK, Map of Part of the Town of Berlin.

6 ROK, Map and Statement attached to Deed of Bargain Sale between George John Grange and Sir James Edward Alexander, Knight, and James Morrison Esq., A917, 10 Jan. 1859.

7 ROK, Map of Part of the Town of Berlin.

8 ROK, Deed of Bargain Sale, as per Footnote 6.

9 Ibid.; Memorial of Indenture of Bargain Sale, George John Grange et ux To Sir James Edward Alexander, Knight, and James Morrison, A917, 10 Jan. 1859.

10 ROK, Map of Part of the Town of Berlin.

11 PAC, National Map Collection, C4257, Map of the Town of Berlin, 1853-1854.

12 ROK, Indenture No. 1918, George Grange to D. McDougall, 1867.

13 "Death of Mr. D. McDougall," Berlin Telegraph (Kitchener), 31 Aug. 1894.

14 Surrogate Court of the County of Waterloo, Mary Bryce Colquhoun Application for Letter of Administration, 21 May 1878, No. 1115.

15 PAC, National Map Collection, 0011391, Map of the Town of Berlin, 1879.

16 ROK, Power of Attorney, Thomas Gilson to Frederick Colquhoun, 3 Dec. 1885, No. 811; Margaret Steele to Frederick Colquhoun, 19 Oct. 1885, No. 812.

17 PAC, J7, W.L.M. King to Louis Breithaupt, 21 Sept. 1944.

18 ROK, Deed of Conveyance, E.A. Colquhoun to Gideon J. Colquhoun, 22 May 1890, A239147.

19 KPL, Berlin, Assessment Roll, 1853.

20 PC, J.D. Herbert to J.R.B. Coleman, 19 July 1962.

21 PC, Memo Woodside, 31 May 1965.

22 Marion MacRae, The Ancestral Roof: Domestic Architecture of Upper Canada (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1963), pp. 244-45.

23 PAC, J7, Measured Drawings, Elevations, North, South, East and West (Woodside), Jenkins and Wright 418-4, 5 Nov. 1949; PAC, Photograph Collection, King Collection, C-7333, Photograph Woodside, ca. 1890.

24 PAC, J7, Measured Drawings, Main Floor Plan, Jenkins and Wright 418-2, Nov. 1949.

25 Ibid.

26 See endnote 23; PC, P.J. Stokes to J.D. Herbert, 25 Jan. 1962.

27 See endnote 23.

28 Conversations with Harold W. Wagner, Waterloo, Ontario, 15 Aug. 1981; PC, Memo Woodside, 31 May 1965; Woodside National Historic Park (hereafter cited as WHP), Furniture Layout, Jenkins and Wright plan as per Mrs. Jennie Lay, 19 Nov. 1952.

29 WHP, Furniture Layout; PAC, J7, Measured Floor Plan, Jenkins and Wright 418-2, Nov. 1949.

30 Ibid.

31 PAC, J7, Newal Post, Baluster, Door Main Entrance, Jenkins and Wright, Feb. 1950; Measured Drawings, Second Floor Plan, Jenkins and Wright, 418-3.

32 The information about the house was gathered chiefly from the Measured Drawings. Additional information about the kitchen extension and division of rooms was obtained from several sources. These included PAC, J7, W.L. Mackenzie King's Woodside Plan of House Specifications for each room; Louis Breithaupt to W.L.M. King, 30 Jan. 1946; W.L.M. King to Breithaupt, 4 Feb. 1946, 9 Feb. 1946, 12 Jan. 1946; WHP, Jennie Lay's Furniture Layout, incorporated into Jenkins and Wright Furniture Arrangement, First and Second Floor; King to H.W. Wagner, 22 Sept. 1947; King to W. Stuart Jenkins, 2 Dec. 1949, 26 April 1950; Jennie to Willie, 29 March 1892; 30 Jan. 1892; J. King to Willie, 1893; Bella to Willie, 29 Jan. 1893.

33 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 1 May 1888; Measured Drawings, Main Floor Plan; Second Floor Plan.

34 "Claim King Only Resided Three Years at 'Woodside'," Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 25 Aug. 1944.

35 PAC, Photograph Collection, C-7333, Photograph Woodside, ca. 1890.

36 WHP, Furniture Layout, Main Floor.

37 Ibid.

38 WHP, Furniture Layout, Second Floor.

39 PAC, J14, Inventory J. King's Furniture, Scott Walmsley, 1901.

40 The entrance to Woodside, the swamp and stream are marked on PAC, National Map Collection, C4257, C83592, N.M.C. 0011391, Maps of Berlin. The extent of lawns and trees are portrayed in PAC, Photograph Collection, King Collection, C7328, C7310, C7327, C7355, C7356, C7333, C7311; PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 1 May 1888; PAC, J13, 9 Sept. 1947.

41 PAC, Photograph Collection, King Collection, C7312, Woodside Entrance.

42 PAC, Photograph Collection, King Collection, C7325, C7344, C7331, C7313, C63271, Woodside Grounds; PAC, J13, 9 Sept. 1947.

43 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 1901; Mother to Willie, 15 Dec. 1898, 18 April 1898; PAC, C7338, C7340; PAC, J13, 9 Sept. 1947; "Home of Boyhood of Mackenzie King Nears Completion Restoration," Toronto Star, 27 Oct. 1952; "Restored Mackenzie King Home Gives Sister Thrill," Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 27 Oct. 1952; "The Prime Minister, Native's Return," Time (New York), 22 Sept. 1947; "King's Old Home Here is Being Completely Rebuilt, Brick for Brick, Beam for Beam," Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 30 June 1951; W. Herriot, "The Trees of Waterloo County," WHS (1924), pp. 80-84.

44 PAC, J7, Bill to John King from W.L. Mackenzie King; Willie to Father, 1 May 1888; Janet to Willie, 7 Oct. 1892.

45 PAC, J7, Max to Willie, 8 May 1891.

46 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 25 Oct. 1892, 29 March 1893; Willie to J. King, 1 May 1888; Willie to Jennie, 25 Nov. 1895; R. MacGregor Dawson, William Lyon Mackenzie King, p. 10; H.R. Hardy, Mackenzie King of Canada, p. 11; PAC, Photographic Collection, C7326, C7333, C83592, Woodside House and Grounds.

47 PAC, J7, Willie to Mama, 2 Sept. 1883; Jennie to Father, Aug. 1888; Isabel to Father, no date; Willie to Mother and Father, 2 Aug. 1888; Willie to Max, 11 Oct. 1891; Max to Willie, 20 Nov. 1891; Jennie to Willie, 29 Nov. 1891, 4 Nov. 1891, 22 Jan. 1892, 4 March 1893, 20 Oct. 1891; John King to Willie, 7 April 1890; Bill to John King from Willie, no date.

48 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 23 Oct. 1892.

49 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 15 Jan. 1893.

50 PAC, Photographic Collection, King Collection, C63268, C7333, C7327, C7355, C7356, C7328, C7310, C7338, Woodside House and Grounds; PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 1 May 1888; W.L. M. King to L. Breithaupt, 12 Jan. 1946, 4 Feb. 1946; W.L. M. King to Stuart Jenkins, 26 April 1950.

The Toronto Years: An Edge to Sadness

1 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 20 May 1949.

2 "Restored Mackenzie King Home Gives Sister a Thrill," Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 27 Oct. 1952.

3 PAC, J7, family correspondence, particularly Statutory Lease, 13 July 1904; Short Term Lease, 31 Aug. 1912; Indenture Lease, 16 June 1893.

4 PAC, J14, Agreement, 8 July 1895; Agreement, 29 May 1895; J. King to Willie, 28 Aug. 1895; City of Toronto. Archives, The Toronto City Directory (Toronto: Might Directories Limited) for the years 1893-1918.

5 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 15 March 1902.

6 "Old Man Got Badly Tangled at Catechism," Toronto Telegram, 7 Oct. 1910; PAC, J14, J. King to F.W. Grant, 3 April 1916.

7 PAC, J14, John King to Charles Eliot, 2 Feb. 1902.

8 PAC, J14, The Law School, Osgoode Hall, Toronto, 16 Oct. 1908.

9 "Law Students Unruly," Globe (Toronto), 31 Oct. 1907.

10 O.E. McGillicuddy, The Making of a Premier, p. 11.

11 "Mr. King Honoured," Mail and Empire (Toronto), 24 March 1904.

12 "Changes in the Law School," Toronto Star, 30 Sept. 1915.

13 "Grand Old Pals," Clarys Gazette (Toronto), 19 Sept. 1947.

14 The Toronto newspapers of 1895 provide excellent coverage of the students' strike at the University of Toronto. See

particularly the Globe (Toronto), 20 Jan. to March 1895.

15 PAC, J14, J. King to R. Harcourt, 27 March 1901; POA, D7, Education Papers, J. King to G. Ross, March 1884, 3 May 1893.

16 POA, D7, Education Papers, R. Harcourt to J. Maclennan, Sept. 1900; J. King to J. Maclennan, June 1900. In addition, PAC, J14 provides considerable evidence of academic and political support.

17 PAC, J14, John King to Goldwin Smith, 27 Feb. 1902.

18 PAC, J7, Willie to John King, 23 Sept. 1900.

19 Ibid., 20 Oct. 1900.

20 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, Jan. 1901, 12 March 1902, 12 Aug. 1902; PAC, J14, endorsements in various newspapers, particularly Kingston Whig Standard, 3 March 1902; Ottawa Journal, 4 March 1902.

21 Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Murray W. Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish in Victorian Toronto," University of Guelph, 1981.

22 PAC, Willison Papers, J. King to Willison, 14 March 1904.

23 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 12 March 1902; Jennie to Willie, 16 March 1902; PAC, J14, J. King to Charles Eliot, 21 Feb. 1902.

24 PAC, J7, J. King to Willie, 7 May and 19 Nov. 1902; Max to Willie, 27 July 1901; Jennie to Willie, 14 Feb. 1902; Willie to Father, 4 March 1901, 16 June 1905; PAC, J14, Financial Folder.

25 PAC, J13, 1 Nov. 1914.

26 PAC, J7, J. King to Willie, Dec. 1902; Mother to Willie, 23 March 1903; PAC, J14, Memo on Word Limit re Newspapers, 1903; Memo on C.Y.C.

27 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 4 Aug. 1905.

28 PAC, J14, Document Re Chattel Mortgage, 6 Aug. 1903; PAC, J7, Willie to J. King, 31 Oct. 1900; Willie to Mother and Father, 28 April 1901; PAC, J13, 5 Jan., 26 Jan. 1902, 1 Nov. 1914.

29 PAC, J13, 18 Jan. 1900.

30 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 14 Sept. 1896, 7 Oct. 1901; Mother to Willie, 22 April 1902, 5 July 1904.

31 Ibid., Mother to Willie, 28 July 1902.

32 Ibid., 8 Oct. 1902.

33 Ibid., 12 Dec. 1896, 27 Jan. 1902, 28 Jan. 1905; Jennie to Willie, 1906.

34 Ibid., Mother to Willie, 13 March 1903.

35 Ibid., 24 Sept. 1899, 9 Oct. 1902, 9 Jan. 1905; Jennie to Willie, 1898, 7 Jan. 1900; PAC, J14, At Home, 4 Grange St., Wednesday.

36 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 13 April 1902.

37 PAC, J14, Various Wedding Invitations and Announcements.

38 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 25 Oct. 1896, 1 Nov. 1896; 10 Oct. 1899, 6 Nov. 1899, 7 Jan. 1900, 31 Aug. 1906; J.L. Colquhoun to Mrs. King, 25 Sept. 1915; Mother to Willie, 24 Sept. 1899, 18 Feb. 1900, 1 Nov. 1904, 9 Sept. 1906; Max to Willie, 23 Dec. 1899; PAC, J13, 30 June 1894.

39 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother, Father and Max, 23 Aug. 1894; Mother to Willie, 17 July 1904; Jennie to Bella, 8 Aug. 1904.

40 Ibid., Max to Mother and Girls, 24 Oct. 1896.

41 Ibid., Jennie to Willie, 11 Oct. 1896, 15 Nov. 1896; Mother to Willie, 11 Jan. 1900.

42 Ibid., Mother to Willie, 30 Sept. 1900.

43 Ibid., In the Matter of the Estate of William Lyon Mackenzie, Deceased.

44 Ibid., Bella to Willie, 29 Nov. 1891.

45 Ibid., Jennie to Willie, 28 June 1930.

46 PAC, Laurier Papers, J. King to Superintendent of the Y.W.C.A., 6 June 1901.

47 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 23 Aug. 1894; Jennie to Willie, 8 Aug. 1894; Willie to Mother, 11 Oct. 1891; Telegram, J. King to Willie, 6 Nov. 1900; Kitchener Registry Office, John E. Neville to John A. Horran, March 1896; PAC, J14, Death of Dougal McDougall, untitled newspaper obituary; Death of Miss Flora McDougall, untitled newspaper obituary; King vs. Neville, untitled newspaper article.

48 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 28 June 1930.

49 Ibid., 1896; St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, Seventy Second Annual Report For the Year Ending 31st Dec. 1902 (Toronto: 1902); St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, Eighty Third Annual Report For the Year Ending 31st Dec. 1913 (Toronto: 1913).

50 PAC, J14, newspaper clippings, Bella King.
51 PAC, J7, Mother to All, 1901.
52 Ibid., Mother to Willie, 6 Jan. 1903.
53 Ibid., Willie to Bella, 25 June 1898.
54 Ibid., Mother to Willie, 19 Aug. 1898; PAC, J13, 16 July 1898.
55 PAC, J13, 14 Dec. 1898.
56 PAC, J7, Willie to Father and Mother, 4 Dec. 1898.
57 Ibid., 12 Dec. 1898.
58 Ibid., Willie to Bella, 26 Nov. 1899.
59 PAC, J14, Certificates and Receipts, Bella, 1903-5; PAC, J7, Willie to Bella, 25 Feb. 1904; Bella to Willie, 1 March 1904, 23 Feb. 1904, Jan. 1904, 21 March 1904; PAC, J14, Work Books; Sewing Dictionary.
60 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, fragment, 1905 to 1906.
61 Ibid., Bella to Willie, 19 Oct. 1904.
62 Ibid., Willie to Miss Douglas, 15 March 1916; Mary L. Smellie to Mrs. King, 16 April 1915; Mother to Willie, 13 April 1902; Lottie MacArthur to Mrs. King, no date; PAC, J14, addresses of Bella.
63 PAC, J14, J. Child to J. King, 7 April 1915.
64 PAC, J7, Willie to Jennie, 16 Feb. 1916; Father to Willie, 23 March 1915; Mother to Willie, 13 March 1903.
65 *Toronto Star*, 17 April 1915.
66 PAC, J14, newspaper clippings; PAC, J13, 11 July 1899; PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 8 Aug. 1894, 11 Oct. 1896.
67 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 29 Nov. 1891, 7 Oct. 1891, no date 1898; 16 March 1902, no date 1906; PAC, J13, 23 April 1903.
68 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 18 Oct. 1897, no date 1901; 21 Jan. 1901.
69 Ibid., Jennie to Willie, no date, 1899, 27 March 1894, 19 Feb. 1900, no date, 1900, 23 Aug. 1899.
70 Ibid., Mother to Willie, 5 Dec. 1902; Jennie to Willie, 5 Dec. 1902, 27 Nov. 1902; Willie to Jennie, 30 July 1903.
71 Ibid., Max to All, no date, 1904.
72 Ibid., Mother to Willie, 19 Nov. 1906; Jennie to Willie, 27 Jan. 1900; Announcement, 26 Dec. 1906.
73 Ibid., Max to Willie, 16 Dec. 1891; Jennie to Willie, 8 Aug. 1894, 11 Oct. 1896; Mother to Willie, 12 Aug. 1895; Max to People, 10 March 1901; Max to Willie, 1902, 16 Dec. 1902.
74 PAC, J7, Max to Willie, 16 Dec. 1902.
75 Ibid., Max to Willie, 10 March 1904.
76 Ibid., Willie to Father and Mother, 7 April 1913; Willie to J.H. Clarke, 15 Aug. 1913; May Wookey to Mr. and Mrs. King, 18 Oct. 1911; Max to Willie, 17 Aug. 1916; Willie to Max, 3 Sept. 1918.
77 Ibid., Mother to Willie, 12 Aug. 1895.
78 PAC, J14, Receipt File.
79 PAC, J7, I. King to J. King, Oct. 1906.
80 Ibid., Mother to Son, 12 Dec. 1896.
81 Ibid., Mother to Willie, Feb. 1906.
82 Ibid., Willie to Mother and Father, 30 Jan. 1898.
83 PAC, J14, Books and Pamphlets.
84 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 13 Dec. 1901.
85 Ibid., Jennie to Willie, March 1901.
86 PAC, J13, 29 Dec. 1911.
87 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 11 March 1910.
88 Ibid., 21 Sept. 1911.
89 PAC, J13, Number 708, 1917.
90 PAC, J14, Military Land Grant; W. Laurier to J. King, 24 Jan. 1913.
91 Ibid., J. King to E. Bell, 14 Sept. 1914; PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 23 June 1915.
92 PAC, J7, Willie to Bella, 20 Jan. 1915; Willie to Father, 11 June 1914.
93 PAC, J13, 1 Nov. 1914.
94 PAC, J7, Memorandum to The Carnegie Foundation.
95 PAC, J14, E. Bell to J. King, 21 Sept. 1915; Father to Willie, 18 Sept. 1915; Illuminated Address, 25 Nov. 1915.

The Making of Mackenzie King

1 PAC, J7, Willie to Jennie, 11 Oct. 1891; Willie to Mother and Father, 1 Nov. 1891.
2 PAC, J7, Willie to John King, 22 Nov. 1891; Bella to Willie, 20 Jan. 1891; Jennie to Willie, 15 Jan. 1893; Willie to Jennie, 1893; Willie to Father and Mother, 20 Nov. 1892, 10 April 1892; PAC, J13, 31 Dec. 1893; O.E. McGillicuddy, *The Making of a Premier*, p. 7.
3 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 1 Nov. 1891; Max to Willie, 8 Feb. 1893; J. King to Willie, 25 Oct. 1892; PAC, J13, 17 Nov. 1893.

4 PAC, J13, 17 Nov. 1893; PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 15 Dec. 1893.

5 PAC, J13, 18 Dec. 1893, 29 June 1894, 18 Dec. 1893, 10 Jan. 1896; PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 8 Aug. 1894, 15 Dec. 1892; H. Harper to Willie, 7 Nov. 1901; Willie to Mother and Father, 24 Nov. 1905; M. Bell to W.L. Mackenzie King, 16 Jan. 1902; Willie to Mother and Father, 23 Aug. 1894, 20 Nov. 1892; conversations with Mr. F. Breithaupt, 10 Sept. 1981.

6 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, 25 Oct. 1891; Bella to Willie, 18 Oct. 1891; PAC, J13, 9 Oct. 1894, 11 Nov. 1893; H.R. Hardy, Mackenzie King of Canada, pp. 28-29.

7 PAC, J13, 31 July 1898.

8 W.L.M. King, Church Union in Canada (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1924).

9 PAC, J13, 5 Nov. 1893.

10 PAC, J13, 29 Oct. 1893.

11 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 29 April 1892.

12 PAC, J13, 24 May 1896.

13 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 20 Nov. 1891.

14 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 1 March 1892, 12 Feb. 1892; Jennie to Willie, 8 Dec. 1891; Max to Willie, 22 Nov. 1896.

15 PAC, J7, Willie to All, 23 Jan. 1900.

16 PAC, J13, 21 Dec. 1893, 20 July 1893, 27 Nov. 1895, 28 Nov. 1895, 29 April 1896, 8 Sept. 1898, 23 Nov. 1895.

17 W.L. Mackenzie King, Toronto Jewery 60 Years Ago (Toronto: Canadian Jewish Congress, Dec. 1958), "The Jewish Population," reprinted from Mail and Empired (Toronto), 25 Sept. 1897.

18 PAC, J13, 18 May 1895; PAC, J7, J. King to Willie, 8 Oct. 1896, 17 June 1896; G. Ross to J. King, 3 March 1894.

19 POA, D7, Educational Papers, John King to G. Ross, 30 Sept. 1895, 11 June 1897; PAC, J7, J. King to Willie, 14 Aug. 1895; PAC, J13, 12 Jan. 1896.

20 POA, D7, Educational Papers, J.W. Wilson to G. Ross, 6 June 1897.

21 See endnotes 18-19.

22 PAC, J13, 2 Feb. 1896.

23 PAC, J13, 18 June 1897.

24 PAC, J13, 20, 21 July 1895.

25 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 29 Nov. 1896.

26 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 8 Nov. 1896.

27 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 5 Dec. 1896.

28 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 29 Sept. 1897; Willie to Father and Mother and All, 22 May 1898.

29 PAC, J13, 18 June 1897, 22 May 1897; PAC, J7, H. Lay to Willie, 9 March 1895; Willie to Father and Mother, 7 Nov. 1897.

30 PAC, J7, Willie to All at Home, 10 Oct. 1897.

31 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother and Father, 29 Nov. 1896.

32 PAC, J13, 28 Feb. 1898, Appendix I.

33 PAC, J13, 8 Aug. 1898.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 PAC, J7, Willie to All at Home, 10 Oct. 1897.

37 PAC, J13, 13 July 1893, 15 Dec. 1895, 21 Nov. 1897, 24 Dec. 1897, 18 Sept. 1897, 25 June 1898, 17-24 Dec. 1897; PAC, J7, Willie to All at Home, 24 Oct. 1897.

38 W.L. Mackenzie King, M.A., L.L.B., Report to the Honourable Postmaster General on the Methods Adopted in Canada in Carrying Out of Governmental Clothing Contracts (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1898); O.E. McGillicuddy, The Making of a Premier, pp. 4-5.

39 PAC, J7, Bella to Willie, 17 Jan. 1889; Willie to Mother and Father, 18 Oct. 1891; PAC, J13, 22, 23 Dec. 1897, 27 July 1897.

40 PAC, J7, Mother to Willie, undated.

41 PAC, J13, 7 April 1898.

42 Ibid.

43 PAC, J13, 16 April 1898.

44 PAC, J13, 17 April 1898.

45 PAC, J13, 21 April 1898.

46 PAC, J13, 8 Aug. 1898.

47 PAC, J13, 2, 11 June 1897; PAC, J7, Willie to Bella, 25 June 1898.

48 PAC, J13, 26 Feb. 1902.

49 PAC, J13, 31 Dec. 1911.

50 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother, 19 Nov. 1899; Willie to All, 7 Jan. 1899; Willie to Father, 10 Feb. 1900; Willie to Mother and Father and All, 1 Nov. 1899; Jennie to Willie, 20 May 1900.

51 PAC, J7, Willie to Mother, 26 Jan. 1900.

52 PAC, J7, Willie to All, 23 Jan. 1900.

53 PAC, J7, Willie to Father and Mother and All, 17 April 1901; PAC, J14, J. King to W. Mulock, 26 June 1900.

54 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 10 July 1900.

55 Ibid.

56 PAC, J13, 23 Sept. 1900.

57 PAC, J7, J. King to Willie, 4 April 1901.

58 PAC, J7, Willie to Father and Mother and All, 9 March 1901.

59 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 11 July 1905.

60 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 20 Oct. 1900.

61 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 30 Nov. 1901.

62 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 23 Nov. 1901.

63 PAC, J7, Willie to Father and Mother, 30 May 1903.

64 PAC, J13, 8 Dec. 1906.

65 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 28 June 1901.

66 PAC, J14, Correspondence on The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907.

67 PAC, J7, Willie to Father, 24 June 1915.

68 PAC, J7, Willie to Jennie, 26 Aug. 1896.

69 PAC, J7, Willie to All, 5 Feb. 1900.

70 PAC, J7, Willie to John King, 23 Sept. 1900.

71 PAC, J7, Willie to J. King, 18 Feb. 1900. Also, the considerable collection of letters in this general period; E. Ludwig, Mackenzie King, p. 7.

72 W.V. Uttley, A History of Kitchener, pp. 222, 281, 282, 239, 368, 405, 406; PAC, J7, Willie to Jennie, 10 June 1909; Telegram to John King, 2 June 1909; Life of Dr. Honsberger (Kitchener: Private Printing, undated), Chapter 6 and pp. 45-47, H. Wagner Papers (hereafter cited as HWP); "William Lyon Mackenzie King," WHS (1967), pp. 71-72; "1896 Home Disappears," WHS (1965), p. 39; A. Tessaro, "Mackenzie King in North Waterloo," WHS (1978), pp. 18-37.

73 PAC, J7, Telegram, 19 Dec. 1917; Willie to Max, 20 Jan. 1915, 28 Jan. 1919, 7 Jan. 1919.

74 PAC, J7, Willie to J. King, 27 March 1916.

75 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 27 March 1916.

76 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 10 Feb. 1919.

77 PAC, J7, "Bear Ye One Another's Burdens," no date.

78 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 23 Jan. 1918.

79 PAC, J7, Max to Willie, 4 April 1918.

80 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 3 Dec. 1918.

81 PAC, J7, Max to Willie, 9 Jan. 1919.

82 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 12 Feb. 1919.

83 PAC, J14, Dedication.

84 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 17 Feb. 1921.

85 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 8 Nov. 1921.

86 PAC, J7, Willie to Max, 17 Nov. 1921.

87 PAC, J7, Telegram, Max to Willie, 12 Jan. 1922.

88 PAC, J7, May King to Willie, 22 March 1922.

89 PAC, J7, May to Willie, March 1922.

Woodside Lives Again: Mackenzie King and The Woodside Trust

1 ROK, No. 811, Power of Attorney to Frederick Colquhoun, 3 Dec. 1885; No. 812, Power of Attorney, Margaret Steele, et al., to Frederick Colquhoun, 19 Oct. 1885.

2 ROK, Deed of Conveyance, E.A. Colquhoun, et al., to Gideon J. Colquhoun, 22 May 1890.

3 PAC, J7, Jennie to Willie, 4 April 1893.

4 University of Waterloo, Archives, GA, 33, Bowlby Papers, D. Bowlby to Shannon Bowlby, 23 March 1893.

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6 ROK, No. 32908, Certificate of Order for Possession of Lands, 29 Sept. 1913; No. 9508, Will of Gideon James Colquhoun, 9 May 1923; Succession Duties Estate of Gideon James Colquhoun, 15 May 1923; Kitchener Public Library, Archives, Vernon's City of Kitchener and Town of Waterloo Directory (Hamilton: 1920-49); also, in conversation with Mrs. W. Buss, she states that her uncle, John Brett, and a Mr. Grim among many others, boarded at Woodside in the early 1920s.

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